A History of the Peoples of Pakistan

Towards Independence

J. Hussain

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A History of the Peoples of Pakistan—Towards Independence

For too long the history of Pakistan has meant the history of Muslim rulers in Delhi and Agra, of British rulers in Calcutta, Delhi, and Simla, and of educated Muslims in Aligarh and Lucknow. We must take note of the positive and negative contributions of all groups, Muslim and non-Muslim, from both East and West of the present-day Pakistan area. But Pakistan by its very survival and growth has proved that it deserves a serious historical study centred upon its own land and peoples. This book is a beginning in this direction.

It recounts the history of the Pakistan area from the perspective of present-day Pakistan.

A History of the Peoples of Pakistan—Towards Independence has previously appeared as *An Illustrated History of Pakistan, Books I* to *III*. These volumes were originally prepared as textbooks, but have now been compiled for the general reader in this new hardbound edition.

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'The Ancient Storyteller'.
Amrita Sher Gill. Oil on canvas,1940.
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Foreword

A History of the Peoples of Pakistan has previously appeared in three volumes as *An Illustrated History of Pakistan*. These volumes were originally prepared as textbooks, but have now been compiled for the general reader in this new hardbound edition.

This work recounts the history of the Pakistan area from the perspective of present day Pakistan. Many histories, including those written since Independence, treat this area as a minor appendage of either the Indian peninsula or the British Empire.

In *A History of the Peoples of Pakistan*, Part I positions the land of the Indus centrally, emphasizing its crucial and continuous role in developing civilizations which grew and spread in all directions. Part II presents the Pakistan area as an integral part of the Muslim world which transmitted the Islamic faith and Muslim culture to much of south-east Asia.

In Part III, this area is shown to have its own unique history during the period of colonial rule. Similarly, Part IV recounts the struggle for Independence from the points of view of the future citizens of Pakistan.

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Part I
Pre-Islamic Times

1

The Land—Its Physical Features and Climate

Continental Drift

The land which is now called Pakistan once wasn't there at all. Fossils of sea creatures have been found at the top of Mt. Everest and the mountaintop itself is made of limestone which was formed long ago at the bottom of the sea. In 1979 fossils of whale bones were found near Peshawar. This and other evidence shows that the northern part of the subcontinent was once under water.

In the Punjab on the other hand, about 20 miles south of Campbellpur, the remains of tiny mouselike creatures have been discovered. These are identical to remains found in Africa and South America. The little animals lived about 45 million years ago and the discovery of their fossils suggests that at that time Africa, South America and much of the subcontinent were fairly close together and possibly connected by 'land bridges' which have since sunk beneath the oceans. Otherwise how could those tiny creatures have spread throughout all those regions?

Many geologists think that all the land on earth was once all together in one huge 'supercontinent'. Thousands of millions of years ago this supercontinent must have broken in two. The northern half included the areas which are now North America, Europe and most of Asia—except for the Arabian peninsula and the Indian subcontinent. Arabia and the subcontinent were parts of the southern half which is called Gondwanaland. This also contained the areas which are now South America, Africa, Australia and Antarctica.

Then, about 200 million years ago, Gondwanaland began breaking up. Arabia, India and the four southern continents slowly shifted to their present positions. Eventually, the subcontinent joined the 'Eurasian' land mass. Scientists have found fossils of animals similar

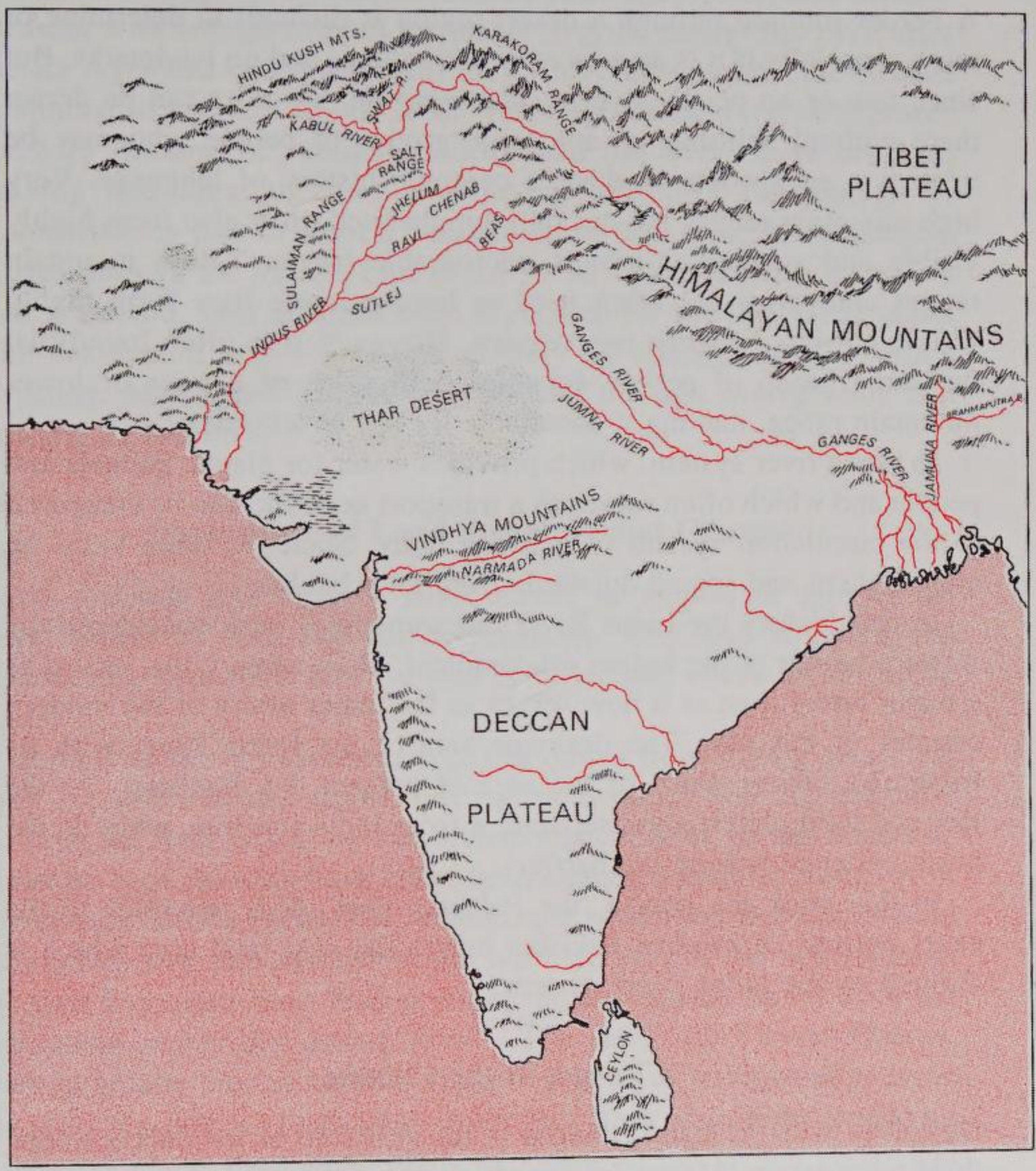
to European ones in 15 million year old rocks south of Kohat. At this time deer, bears and tigers were migrating into the subcontinent from Europe and northern Asia. But this movement came to an end some 11 million years ago. Around this time the Himalayan mountain range was formed, or squeezed up as the subcontinent and the rest of Asia pushed against each other.

The idea that the continents have not always been in their present positions is called the theory of continental drift. According to this theory, the continents are still moving, and even today the subcontinent is still crunching up against the rest of Asia—a tiny fraction of an inch each year. This is probably one of the reasons for the earthquakes which occasionally occur in Pakistan. Thus we can see that there was change long before man appeared on earth about one million years ago.

Present Day Features

The Himalayas are now the highest mountains in the world. They are always covered with snow and fresh snow keeps falling, some of which melts in the sunshine. The water from the melted snow flows down the mountainsides in streams which join to form rivers. The waters of the streams and rivers carry mud and gravel down from the mountains. The finely ground gravel, or sand, settles along the river banks and eventually hardens into stone. During floods (caused by more than normal rains or melting), the water spreads out over the plains and the even finer mud settles out to form good soil for plant life. After 20 million years of this activity, the rivers which flow from the Himalayas have deposited a vast flood plain. The northern-most part of the subcontinent, including much of Pakistan, is the flood plain of the Himalayas.

The rivers have frequently changed their routes. At present there are three major river systems: the Indus of Pakistan (with the five rivers of the Punjab, the Ganges of northern India, and the Brahmaputra of Bangladesh. The land which lies between two rivers is known as a *doab*. The Punjab plain therefore is divided into four main *doabs*. Between the two river systems of the Indus and the Ganges lies the dry Thar Desert area. South of the northern flood plain are the Vindhya Mountains and the Satpura Hills. These, along with the Narmada River, which flows between them form the boundary between the northern subcontinent and the Deccan, or peninsular India.


HINDU KUSH MTS.
KARAKORAM RANGE
KABUL RIVER
SWAT R.
SALT RANGE
TIBET PLATEAU
SULAIMAN RANGE
JHELUM
CHENAB
RAVI
BEAS
HIMALAYAN MOUNTAINS
INDUS RIVER
SUTLEJ
GANGES RIVER
THAR DESERT
JUMNA RIVER
GANGES RIVER
JAMUNA RIVER
BRAHMAPUTRA R.
VINDHYA MOUNTAINS
NARMADA RIVER
DECCAN
PLATEAU
CEYLON

Physical Features and Borders

A border running through a desert region is difficult to determine or mark especially if it is an area of shifting dunes and no landmarks. But since few or no people live in such a region, a border can be drawn there without splitting up any large groups of people who may be related to each other or share a common history of language. Very high mountain ranges are not only uninhabited, they also form highly visible and sometimes almost uncrossable barriers. Both mountain ranges and rivers are often used as borders since they form highly visible barriers between two regions. However, it is often found that the same group of people occupies both sides of a river or lower mountain range, making it unsuitable for use as a border.

In fact a river system, which provides water for plants, animals and people and which often serves as a transport network, can be compared to the circulation system of a living body. Societies often build up around them and spread outwards from their banks.

In past history the Indus River has sometimes been considered the western border of the Indian subcontinent. More often it has served as a major artery, just as it now serves as the major artery of the modern country of Pakistan. The drainage area of the Indus River with its tributaries covers much of the area of present day Pakistan. To the east and west, desert areas separate it from India and Iran, while in the north, mountains form the barriers.

In this book the phrase 'the Pakistan area' does not refer to the exact borders of modern Pakistan but to the vast land area which is drained by the Indus River system.

Changes in the Climate

Of course with so many changes in the structure of the subcontinent, there were major changes in climate, the most important being brought by the Ice Ages. During the Ice Age frozen rivers of ice called glaciers were pushed down from the Himalayas. They covered Kashmir, the Potwar Plateau and much of northern India with ice. At the end of each Ice Age the climate would slowly warm up again, the ice would melt—leaving behind piles of rocks and dirt which the glaciers had scraped from the mountains. Many of the hills and hillocks of the Potwar Plateau were left behind by the last glaciers.

The climate also underwent great changes in the parts of the land which were never covered by ice. During the last Ice Age, for instance,

the area around Bahawalpur (Cholistan) was a desert, as it is now. When the Ice Age ended (around 10,000 years ago) the climate became pleasant with enough rainfall for plants to grow easily. But even after the Ice Ages had ended (that is if they really have ended), the climate continued to change. About 3,000 years ago there were earthquakes (perhaps because of continental drift) and the rivers there dried up leaving that area once more a desert. Similarly the plateau of Balochistan is part of a great band of earth stretching from northern Africa through the Middle East to the Indus Valley which was once a rich grassland. This area has been drying up for the last 4,000 years. The dessication was not caused entirely by changes in the earth's structure. Man himself exhausted the land through over-grazing and farming by primitive methods.

Importance of Land Structure and Climate

Land structure and climate have played an important role in the development of man and his civilizations. The land structure and climate also determine how the past is buried and where it can still be found.

In deserts the dry climate saves old things from rotting away, but they are often hidden under shifting sand dunes and are therefore difficult to find. Many of the archaeological sites in the southern, driest parts of Pakistan have either been stumbled upon accidentally or found only after a great deal of thorough searching. But once found they yield very rich results. In the northern part of the subcontinent the past has often been buried under the silt carried down from the mountains, especially during floods. The semi-arid Potwar Plateau, with its greatly eroded surface, exposes dozens of millions of years to the searches. The southern edge of the Salt Range has been pushed up 2,000 feet above the Punjab plain, exposing all the known geological history of the earth's crust (going back 600 million years) for geologists to study.

2

Prehistoric Times

Prehistoric Mammals

We have mentioned that fossils of whales and tiny mouse-like creatures have been found in Pakistan. The strangest mammal fossils which have been found belong to the *Baluchithereum.* This was one of the largest land mammals to have ever lived on earth. It was a hornless prehistoric rhinoceros. It was 8.25 metres tall at the shoulder, 11 metres long and could have looked over the roof of a two-storeyed house. It lived about 25 million years ago.

The Miocene

During the Miocene period, around 9 million years ago, several kinds of apes lived on the Potwar Plateau. The apes we call *Ramapithecus* and *Sivapithecus* had small bodies but big teeth. We are not sure whether they could walk upright on two feet or not. *Sivapithecus* lived in trees. *Gigantophithecus* was a much larger animal than its two 'relatives'. It probably moved around in the knuckle-walking manner of modern gorillas and chimpanzees. All of these apes may have looked for food in open grasslands by day and taken refuge in woodlands or cliffs at night.

In some areas of the northern subcontinent at this time the grasslands favoured 'browsing' animals like pigs, prehistoric giraffids, and small antelopes. The more open grasslands were inhabited by prehistoric horses, large antelopes and other grazing animals. There were also wet areas where turtles, crocodiles and the hippo-like anthrocheres thrived.

The Pliocene

In the Pliocene period (11 to 1 million years ago), many of these

strange prehistoric mammals became extinct. But many species of 'man-like' apes continued to flourish.

The Pleistocene

The Pleistocene period (1 million to 10,000 years ago) was a period of Ice Ages. As each Ice Age came and went it tested the abilities of the various species of ape-men. Those species which were able to develop new ways of solving problems survived to flourish in the pleasant weather which followed the end of each Ice Age. But with each new Ice Age more species perished. We think that our own species *Homo Sapiens* appeared on earth sometime between 500,000 and 100,000 years ago.

Soan River

In one warm period between Ice Ages (500,000 to 3,000,000 years ago), there were primitive men living near the Soan River in what is now Rawalpindi Division. They probably gathered roots and other parts of plants for food, and may have trapped or hunted small birds, animals and fish. They made pebble tools by hitting rocks against each other so that they broke, leaving pieces with sharp edges. These could be used for killing animals and for chopping and cutting meat and scraping animal skins.

What did these early people look like and where did they come from? Unfortunately we have only found their tools so far, and have not yet found the remains of the people themselves, so these questions cannot be answered yet.

We do know that these primitive people shared their hunting and gathering grounds with many interesting prehistoric animals; boars which were as big as hippos and had metre-long tusks, sheep larger than horses and huge woolly elephants.

Early Stone Age

Tools made by Early Stone Age man have also been found in the Beas River Valley on the Indian side of the border, and in many other sites in central and southern India. But the Early Stone Age peoples to the south tended to make more hand-axes and fewer choppers than the men of the Soan Valley. The hand-axes are called

core tools because they were made by taking a large stone (the 'core') and using another tool, sometimes wooden, to slowly break off bits from it. This process not only gave a sharp cutting edge, but also provided a convenient shape for holding in the hand.

None of the Early Stone Age people seem to have lived in caves. Perhaps they built temporary shelters of sticks, bark and leaves.

Fire

Fire must first have been 'captured' from forest and grass fires lit by lightning, volcanoes or by the heat of long dry summers. It must have taken thousands of years for man to learn how to preserve and then light his own fires. Fire was used as early as 750,000 years ago in France and 500,000 years ago in China. We don't know when it came into use in this part of the world. But when it did it would have helped man to chase the wild animals out of caves and begin living in them himself. He could also use fire to keep warm in cold weather and to cook his food. Now he would be able to eat tougher meat and would be encouraged to hunt larger animals, although food gathering remained his major source of nourishment. Fire could also be used to help split rocks and make better tools, easily.

Middle Stone Age

But with or without fire the people of the Soan Valley and other places in India slowly learned to make better and better tools. In the Middle Stone Age flat, pointed, leaf-shapes called flakes were made from stone. These could be used as spearheads and knives. The flake tools found near Nomal Lake were made 300,000 to 150,000 years ago. During the Late Soan Culture, wooden traps may also have been used to catch fish and small animals.

'Modern Man'

By the end of the Ice Ages all of the other species of ape-men had died out and only the true man or *Homo Sapiens* survived. He had managed to teach himself to make tools and weapons. He fought the cold by taming fire and scraping animal skins to make warm clothes. He drove the animals from the caves so that he could have a safe dry shelter in which to raise his family. He learned to hunt

the ferocious beasts which lived in that period; the woolly mammoth, the wild boar and the rhinoceros. And he recorded these hunting scenes in paintings on the walls of his caves. In Europe, Africa and central India there are many such beautiful cave paintings.

Sanghao Cave

In Pakistan, Dr A.H. Dani has discovered a cave dwelling from this era. It is in the Sanghao Valley near Mardan. The stone tools found there date back to 70,000 years ago. The use of fire is shown by ashes and burnt bones. At first the people were not cave-dwellers. They moved 'indoors' when the cave was formed some 15,000 years ago. The inhabitants were now big game hunters as well as food gatherers.

Cave Men and Women

It was probably during the period of big game hunting that the first division of labour between the sexes developed. The able-bodied men went out hunting while others, including children, older people and the women (who were almost always either pregnant or nursing a new baby) stayed near the family shelter. They provided the larger amount of food by gathering plants and trapping small birds, animals and fish. They watched over the fire, and most important, took care of the babies and small children. The attitude that women should 'keep the home fires burning' while the men go out into the 'hard cruel world' has still not been completely forgotten today, even though most ways of earning a living these days are not nearly so strenuous as killing woolly mammoths and can be easily managed by women (who no longer are almost always pregnant or nursing).

Late Stone Age

In the Late Stone Age, man learned to make even better tools. He could not work with much harder stone. And instead of making tools and weapons which were entirely of stone (and therefore heavy and clumsy) he now began to stick small bits of highly sharpened stone into arrows and all sorts of handles made of wood, animal horns or bone. In this way he could make a large variety of tools and weapons including spears, bows and arrows, knives of all kinds, harpoons for

fishing and even sickles for cutting grain. These sickles with their fine teeth show us that prehistoric man collected grain from the fields. Tools made with tiny pieces of stone are called microliths. Unfortunately no microlithic sites have been definitely recorded in the Pakistan area as yet. They have been found very widely in India, especially in the Gujarat area.

Neolithic Revolution

After the last Ice receded, and the weather became warm and pleasant again, there were more grazing animals in this region. These were less dangerous and more easy to hunt than the ferocious creatures of colder times. So man began to follow the herds. It may have been at this time that his small family and hunting band was able to grow into a larger tribe. Soon it became possible to keep some of the grazing species together and to slaughter them at will. Now men owned cattle and for the first time had more meat than they needed. Cattle may have been the first form of wealth—the man with a larger herd was wealthier than his neighbours. The flocks and herds still had to be kept moving, however, to find sufficient grass for them to eat. So man continued to be normadic.

The women and children would cut grass to feed the animals kept at the shelter, perhaps baby animals or those ready for slaughter. Eventually it was noticed that when seeds of grass fell to the ground, new shoots of grass would sprout up later in the same place. It is probable that man first invented farming to feed his cattle rather then to feed himself. All along we have been using the word man to mean all humans—both men and women. In fact, it was very likely that the women invented agriculture while their men were out hunting or watching the flocks.

The invention of farming is so important that we call it the Neolithic Revolution. It changed men's lives because now they could settle down in permanent homes and did not have to be constantly wandering after wild animals or herds. Both cattle breeding and farming meant that man could now store up extra food for times of scarcity. He could now look forward to a relatively safe and secure future in a permanent home. Perhaps this is why he began to pay attention to the disposal of the remains of the dead. Burial customs begin from this time.

This revolution probably happened first in places where grasses

grew easily and would sprout if dropped accidentally on the ground. Most scholars think that this was in the Near East and that farming spread to this area from the 'Fertile Crescent'.

Balochistan

The oldest Neolithic settlement found so far in Pakistan was excavated in 1979 by a French archaeologist, Dr. Jarrige. This site is at Mehrgarh in Dhadar District about 6 miles south of the Bolan Pass in Balochistan. The settlement started around 6000 BC, or perhaps even earlier. The people lived in houses of several rooms of mud bricks. They had domesticated various animals including the water buffalo. Seeds of water-melons have been found at the site that date back to 8,000 years. They grew barley and some wheat, which they harvested with sickles. Polished stone axes and flint tools were also used. Necklaces and bangles were made from beads of steatite (soapstone), turquoise, marble and shell. In a grave in the uppermost layer (from about 5000 BC or 7000 years ago) there were two interesting beads. One was of lapis lazuli which is found only in northern Afghanistan. This and the turquoise beads show that these people must have traded with the people of Afghanistan. The other bead is of copper. It is one of the first metal objects to be found in this area. The shell bangles indicate trade with the coast of the Arabian Sea.

The Neolithic Age was also notable for the fine and highly polished stone tools which were made at this time. These have been found near Khanpur (Sindh), in the Rohri hills and at 'Milestone 101' near Hyderabad among other places in Pakistan. Some Neolithic burial sites have been discovered near Rawat south-east of Rawalpindi. The people buried there had long heads.

Pottery

There are many sites in Pakistan of Neolithic settlements after 5000 BC. In the later settlements we can see the development of pottery. The first pots have the marks of baskets on them. It is thought that baskets were the earlier containers. Perhaps some baskets were plastered with mud so that tiny things, like grains of wheat, wouldn't fall out through the cracks. A mud-plastered basket set accidentally near the fire would bake and eventually it would be realized that a baked mud pot could carry water without dissolving. Soon pots were made

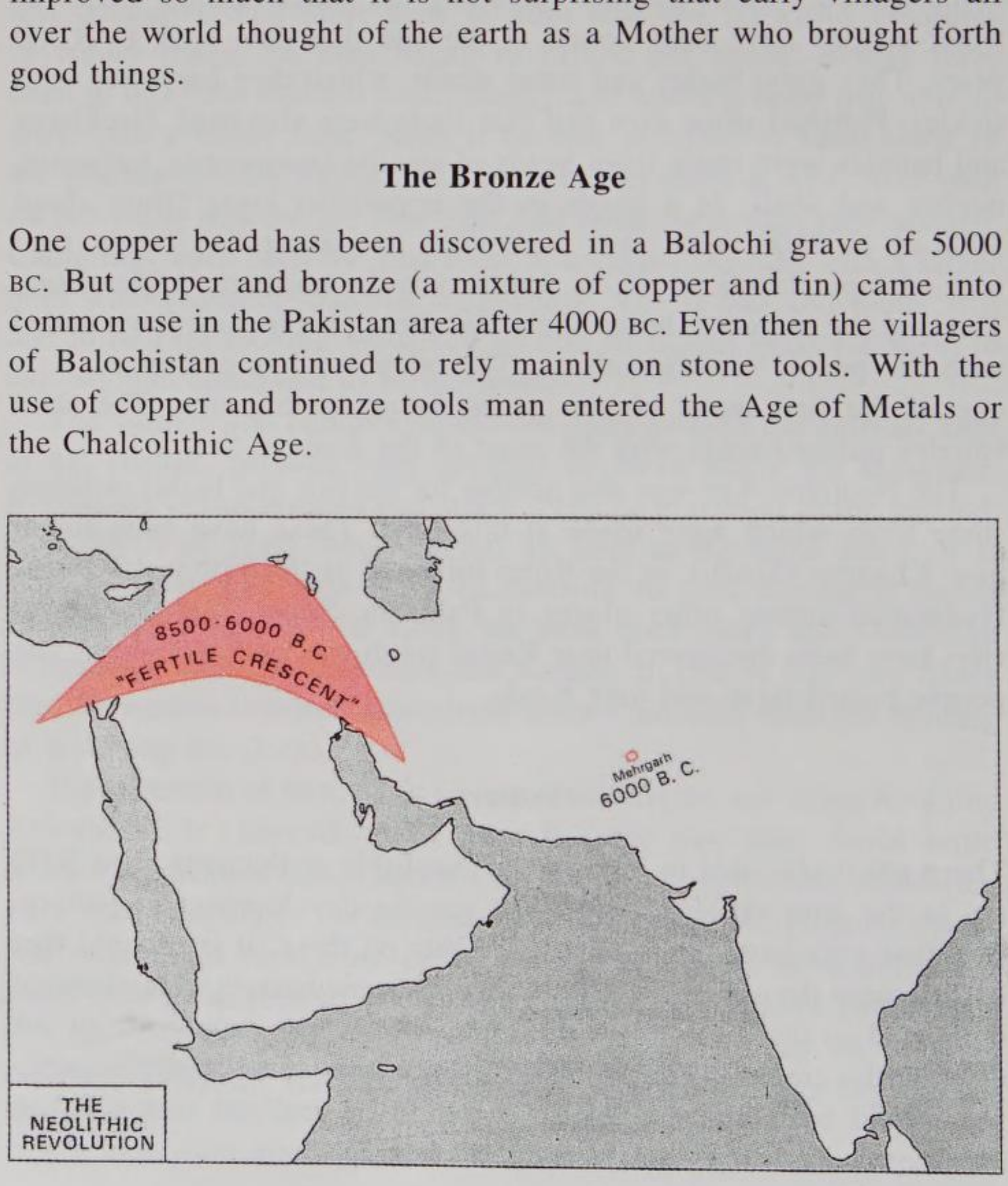
without basket marks but with many other kinds of decorations.

The shapes and decorations of pots are used by scholars to discover connections between the people of different settlements. Some of the pottery of Neolithic Balochistan, particularly that of Rana Ghundai near Quetta with its beautiful paintings of ox, deer, mountain goats and bison, resembles that of Kandahar in Afghanistan. The pottery from southern Balochistan, on the other hand, shows contacts with Iran and Iraq.

The inhabitants of these villages now had time, not only to decorate their pots but also to make boxes of soft stone and little figures of what we assume are Mother Goddesses. The standard of living had improved so much that it is not surprising that early villagers all over the world thought of the earth as a Mother who brought forth good things.

The Bronze Age

One copper bead has been discovered in a Balochi grave of 5000 BC. But copper and bronze (a mixture of copper and tin) came into common use in the Pakistan area after 4000 BC. Even then the villagers of Balochistan continued to rely mainly on stone tools. With the use of copper and bronze tools man entered the Age of Metals or the Chalcolithic Age.



Towns

Rahman Dehri, fourteen miles north of Dera Ismail Khan (NWFP) is the site of the earliest urbanization discovered up to now in this area. It dates from about 4000 BC and seems to have been a fortified city of 10-15,000 people. Symbols, painted and engraved on the pottery and engraved on tiny bone seals, show that a pre-Indus Civilization script was developing there.

Indus Valley

Farming and settled village life seem to have come to this region through Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. The parts of Balochistan nearest to those places were the homes of the first settled farming communities in the subcontinent, while the people in the rest of the subcontinent were still hunters and gatherers. It was natural that from Balochistan farming should first spread to the Indus River system. Here the annual floods made the soil so soft and fertile that grain could grow without ploughing. The first Indus Valley settlements are found just above the floodline and often on tributaries of the Indus. The villagers had not yet found a way to protect their mud-brick homes from the flood waters.

In Bahawalpur District, thirty-two sites have been found along the now dry Hakra river, dating from 4000 BC. The same sort of Hakra Ware pottery has also been found at Jalilpur, forty-six miles south-west of Harappa in the Punjab. In Sindh, Amri Ware pottery was produced around Amri, a fortified town on the Indus south of Mohenjodaro which flourished between 3600 and 3300 BC.

Potter's Wheel

By 3000 BC the Indus River Valley area was sprinkled with hundreds of farming communities growing their crops in the rich soil left by the annual flooding of the Indus and its tributaries. There may have been full-time potters in these settlements, because by then pots were being made on a wheel. The use of this wheel (which may also have spread from the Middle East) meant that better pots could be made faster

Bullock Carts

More importantly, the potter's wheel was probably where people first got the idea of using wheels for transport. At any rate, we know that wheeled carts were being pulled by bullocks at this time in the Indus Valley as well as in ancient Mesopotamia (present day Iraq). We find toy carts in the ruins of Kot Diji east of Mohenjodaro and in the surrounding area which belonged to the Kot Diji Culture. Kalibangan was another fortified town which dated from 3000 BC. It was located on the old Hakra River bed east of the present Indian border.

Whether the towns were fortified against floods or against human attackers (or both) is unclear. Each town with its surrounding area had its own distinctive style of pottery. From the various designs, however, especially in Lower Sindh, it seems that many of the people who were settled in the Indus Valley at this time may have migrated from the earlier farming settlements in Balochistan.

3

The Indus Civilization

Planned Cities

Suddenly a strange thing happened. Around 2600 BC at least two of the fortified Indus towns (Amri and Kot Digi) were destroyed by fire. Then a new civilization was built upon the ruins of the old. The people continued to do many things in the same ways as before. They still made toy carts, for example, and Mother Goddesses, but now some of the towns became immense cities. The two largest cities discovered so far are Mohenjodaro, near Larkana in Sindh, and Harappa near Sahiwal in the Punjab. All of the towns were constructed according to a uniform plan. The broad main streets ran straight north-south and east-west. West of the 'lower town' was a huge raised platform, often surrounded by a thick wall with watch-towers. In and near this 'citadel' were the public buildings; a warehouse to store grain, assembly halls, etc.

Houses

Even the houses were built to a uniform design. The larger homes were two and even three storeys high. The entrance to each house was in a side lane and the walls which faced the street had no windows. Each house had an inner courtyard. In the kitchens were the sort of round ovens which are still in use for making tandoori roti. The wells were indoors and the well wall often extended to the upper storeys perhaps to keep animals and servants on the ground floor from dirtying the water. The bathrooms were quite 'modern'. The bathroom floor sloped to a drain which carried dirty water to a complicated sewer system under the streets. There were also smaller single-storeyed quarters for workers, or perhaps slaves.

A Vast and Advanced Civilization

By 2500 BC when most of the people in the world were still hunters, food gatherers and nomadic herdsmen, a vast civilization had sprung up in the area which is now Pakistan, spilling over its present day borders into much of north-western India as well. This was the largest civilization in the whole of the ancient world. It stretched from the foothills of the Himalayas in the north-east to the coast of the Arabian Sea in the south-west. Along the coast there were settlements extending from the present day Iran-Pakistan border to the far side of the Narmada River in peninsular India. This society was at least as advanced as the civilizations which existed in Mesopotamia and Egypt at the same time.

Origins

As the great cities of the Indus seem to have sprung up suddenly, archaeologist at first thought that all of the ideas and many of the people must have come from outside the area to set up this glorious civilization. Sumeria of Mesopotamia was considered to be a possible place of origin. But Sumeria's own civilization, started around the same time, was not nearly so extensive, and developed along rather different lines. As archaeological explorations continued it became more and more clear that the Indus Valley Civilization grew out of the earlier farming communities of what is now NWFP, Balochistan, Sindh, Punjab and north-western India. Nevertheless the inhabitants of Sumeria were of the same physical type as the Indus Valley people and did not resemble the Arab peoples of their area. And no one knows where the Sumerian civilization came from. So it is now thought possible that both the Indus and the Sumerian civilization were built by people migrating from the Balochistan area, westwards as well as eastwards, long before the sudden flowering of either civilization.

Political Organization

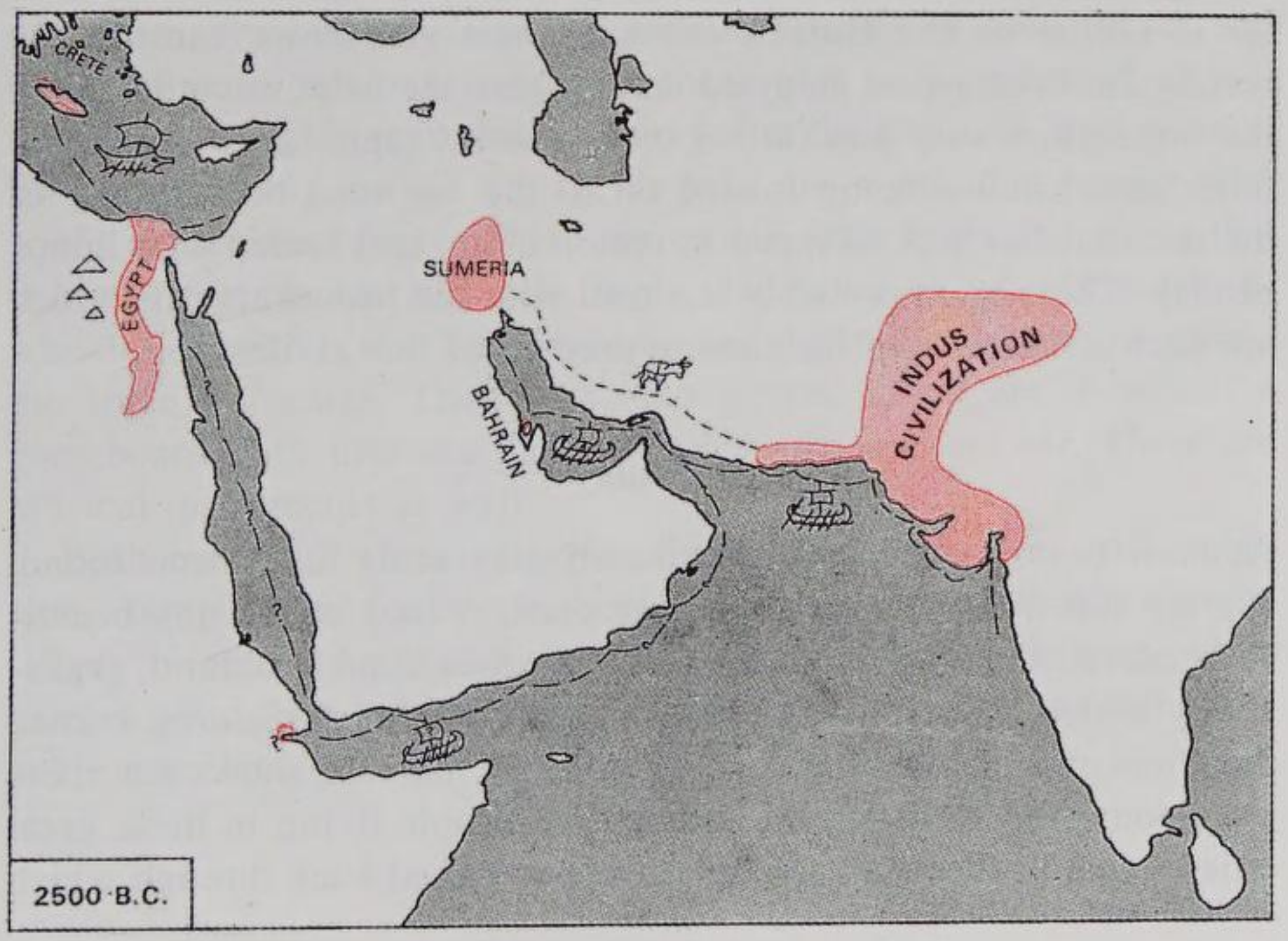
We do not know for sure whether the vast area of the Indus Civilization was one political unit, or 'empire', or not. This may have been the case because everything was so well regulated and organized. The system of weights, for instance, was uniform throughout the area and there seems to have been very little cheating. At least

the stone weights found are all quite exact and accurate.

There were no huge temples as there were in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, only a ritual bathing pool at the Citadel in Mohenjodaro and perhaps some smaller temples. So we are not at all sure that there were priest-rulers here as in other societies at this time. However the dignified bearded man shown in the famous sculpture found at Mohenjodaro may have been of a priest-king.

Economy

Most of the people were farmers. Boats and bullock carts brought the farm produce into the towns and cities. Here the barley, wheat and rice were stored in large well-ventilated granaries. Workmen (or slaves?) in the cities ground the grain, wove cotton into cloth and dyed it with madder, and made pots, tools, jewellery and many other things. The stone for tools almost all came from one site, which is now Sukkur in Sindh. The pots and tools had a uniform look, as if they were all made at one place and then shipped to the various parts of the empire.



Trade

Many of the manufactured objects were exported to the Persian Gulf area and to Mesopotamia, both by land and by sea. In the formative years before the flowering of the Indus Civilization (3000 to 2500 BC) there had been extensive land trade between the areas. Later, however, the overland trade seems to have been disrupted and exports left mainly by sea. They were shipped by way of the islands of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf where a civilization existed which seems to have been a mixture of Indus and Sumerian.

There are pictures of boats engraved on seals, and they look very much like the pictures of boats in Egyptian paintings. The Egyptian boats were probably originally built of papyrus, a reed or tall grass-like plant which grew on the banks of the Nile River. The Indus boats may have been built of similar reeds which still grow along the banks of the Indus. Thor Heyerdahl is a Norwegian scientist who believes in testing his ideas about ancient peoples by actually trying to do the things he thinks they did. Recently, he constructed a reed boat in Iraq (ancient Mesopotamia) and sailed 4,200 miles with his crew to the various areas mentioned in ancient Sumerian writings including Bahrain and the Indus Valley, as well as to several places (Somalia and Djibouti) with which the Egyptians traded.

The Indus Civilization had many ports. The largest discovered so far is Lothal on the Gujarat coast in India. There we can see the rectangular brick-paved shipyard and imagine the bales of cotton cloth, the big earthenware jars full of ivory combs, lapis lazuli beads and other merchandise being loaded on to the big reed boats. Most of the merchandise was wrapped in cotton cloth, and sealed with lumps of clay. These were probably stamped with the beautiful seals which are such a famous and fascinating product of this civilization.

Seals

At least two thousand of these small clay seals have been found. We are still not sure how they were used. A look at the tiny beautifully carved pictures on the seals, some of extremely natural, realistically lifelike animals, and others of strange fantasy creatures, horned men, unicorns and combinations of different animals, shows that there were some very artistic and imaginative people living in these great cities. Most of the seals are square with a raised back through which

a hole was drilled allow a string to be passed through. Perhaps the seals were worn as good luck charms or they may have been family emblems.

Script

Most of the seals have one or two lines of writing and each seal's writing is different although some of the pictures are repeated on very many seals, especially those of the unicorn, bull, bison and rhinoceros. All over the world, scholars are working hard at the task of deciphering the script, but so far no one has been successful. The job is very difficult because it is not known what sort of language was spoken, and because each seal has only a few symbols, giving no idea of sentence structure or grammar. We hope that when we understand the script we will learn much more about these fascinating people.

Art and Leisure

In the meantime we look at the pictures on the seals and at other pieces of art for hints about their society. The straight blank streets with no windows or doors, the tools and pots all looking alike—even the very ordinary looking jewellery made of gold, silver and beads of semi-precious stones: all these give us a picture of an unimaginative, highly regimented society. But the tiny seals and graceful little sculptures, and all the clever toys are signs of a people who could appreciate beauty. There are rattles, little bulls and sheep that can wag their heads and tails, birds that move on wheels and bird-whistles, monkeys that can move up and down a rope, and of course the little toy carts. There are also games: there are dice and a gameboard with markers looking rather like a chess set. There are musical instruments as well.

Both men and women enjoyed decorating themselves with necklaces, bangles and other ornaments, although they probably dressed simply in cotton *lungi* and shawls. Men wore their hair long, while women piled their hair up in complicated hair-dos. Only women wore ankle bracelets.

Religion

Like the villagers before them the Indus Valley people made Mother Goddess figurines. They also worshipped a male god—perhaps a Sea God like Neptune who eventually evolved into the Hindu god Siva. The horned man on the seals may be a picture of this god. One seal seems to show a human sacrifice. From the pictures on the seals it appears that the Indus people regarded certain trees as sacred, as well as certain animals, including the bull. Some of the pictures seem to portray legends and myths from Mesopotamia, but whether these were absorbed into the Indus Valley religion is unclear.

Decline and Fall

The cities of the Indus Valley seemed solid and sensible enough to last forever. But once again a strange thing happened. The buildings were no longer made according to the old plans, and the standard of construction declined. The standard of living must also have declined, because the old homes were now being divided up into apartments for several families. By 1990 BC trade between the Indus Valley and Sumeria had come to an end.

Mohenjodaro was destroyed seven times by floods. Each time it was rebuilt but the later buildings were constructed badly and the lanes became narrow and crooked Then around 1700 BC, the city seems to have been attacked by invaders. Most of the people, who were totally unprepared for war, ran away. Those who remained were caught and killed. Their bodies were left to rot where they fell. It is not known who these invaders were.

At Harappa there were less violent newcomers with different burial customs. They and some of the original inhabitants continued to live in the declining city until the Ravi River shifted its bed, causing Harappa to be abandoned altogether. The same story was repeated in other towns. First the quality of life declined, and then the people moved away, probably to north-western India where Harappan and pre-Harappan type pottery continued to be made for some time. But the great civilization, with its town planning, regulation, mass production, extensive trade and mysterious seals, disappeared. The towns were soon buried in dust, to be forgotten for almost four thousand years.

The Causes of the Decline and Fall

At first it was assumed that the cities of the Indus Civilization were destroyed by the Aryans, a nomadic cattle breeding people who migrated into the subcontinent at about this time. In their ancient religious hymns, collected in the Rig Veda, they prayed to their gods to destroy the Walled Cities of the Dasas. It is still not clear whether the Dasas were the people of the Indus Civilization.

In any case why were the Indus people so easily defeated and chased away by the much less civilized invaders? It is certain that the Indus people were very unwarlike and owned remarkably few weapons. More importantly, their cities had been in a state of decline for hundreds of years; this may have made the people unable or uninterested in putting up much of a defence.

Then what was responsible for this decline? It was originally thought that the area was becoming drier, or that the soil had been ruined by primitive farming methods and could no longer support an increasing population. This had happened throughout the once Fertile Crescent in the Middle East, and even the Sahara was once green.

Now, however, scientists are claiming that climate does not change so quickly. Some point to the major earthquakes which occurred in the area at that time. It was these they say which caused some rivers to change their courses, others to dry up, and the Mohenjodaro region to be flooded. This they claim is what made it impossible to grow sufficient crops and what eventually exhausted and discouraged the people so that they gave up and moved away.

Others insist that the main reasons for the decline of a society must be looked for within that society. They suggest that the Indus Civilization must have been an oppressive society, with well-disciplined workers or slaves doing most of the work and getting little in return. Perhaps it was social unrest that weakened the society and brought about its downfall. We are reminded of the decline of the Roman Empire, in which the ruling classes became so corrupt that they eventually lost their empire to attacking barbarians.

So the arguments go on. Perhaps one day we will find conclusive evidence, whether geological, archaeological or historical, which will settle this controversy one way or another. Meanwhile most scholars feel that it must have been a combination of several factors which led to the decline and fall of the Indus Civilization.

Dravidians

What became of the people who left the cities? Some scholars think that their descendants are the Dravidian people who now live mostly in southern India. (The Brahuis of Balochistan also speak a Dravidian language.) Others disagree and feel that the people simply disappeared; absorbed into the tribes of north-western and central India.

What became of their ideas, their culture, their art and their religion? We know that town planning, sewerage systems and many other practices disappeared from the subcontinent for hundreds, even thousands of years. Some of these things are still quite lacking even today. But other advances in mathematics and astronomy for instance, must have been absorbed by neolithic India with the Indus people. We do see that some styles of art and some religious beliefs still seem to live on in the peoples of the subcontinent.

The Ruins

But the cities died. The name Mohenjodaro means Mound of the Dead. This is what the later inhabitants called the great ruin. That the Indus people had ever lived or flourished or ever built a great civilization was completely forgotten. In the 19th century an Englishman noticed some huge mounds of old bricks near the village of Harappa, but the British colonial government was not interested in excavating unknown ruins. In fact many of the bricks were later broken up and used in the railroad bed for the Lahore-Multan railway.

It was only in the 1920s that Indian archaeologists, excavating Buddhist shrines built over the ruins, took notice of the mysterious little seals. They called attention to the possibility that an entirely unknown civilization might lie hidden in the mounds of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Imagine the excitement when the huge cities were unearthed. The discovery of the Indus Civilization is considered to be the most important archaeological event of the 20th century.

Since then hundreds of new sites have been found. There is still much excavation to be done at both the old and new sites. Unfortunately, many of the sites are being damaged by salinity which makes objects crumble, and the lower levels of Mohenjodaro are impossible to excavate because of waterlogging. The Pakistan government, with the aid of the United Nations and many friendly countries, is determined to save these historical treasures for the nation and for all of mankind.

TIME CHART
PREHISTORIC LIFE

Note: In the shaded area the past million years have been expanded to show the Ice Ages. In the coloured area the past 10,000 years have been expanded yet again to show the progress of mankind, especially in the northern Indian subcontinent.

200,000,000 years ago	Southern continents begin to drift apart. Tiny mammals co-exist with dinosaurs.
65,000,000 years ago	Dinosaurs have become extinct.
45,000,000 years ago	Mouse-like creature ranges over Indian Subcontinent, Africa and South America
25,000,000 years ago	Baluchithereum: largest land mammal ever.
15,000,000	Himalayan Mountains forming.
7,000,000	Many prehistoric animals extinct, but man-like apes flourish
1,000,000	ICE AGES
8,000 B.C. (10,000 years ago)	Ice Ages end, farming begins in Near East
6,000 B.C.	First cities in the Near East. Farming spreads to Persian Gulf, Egypt and the Pakistan area.
4,000 B.C.	Rahman Dehri: city and metal tools in the Pakistan area.
3,500 B.C.	Amri: fortified town in Indus Valley
3,000 B.C.	Kot Diji: potter's wheel, carts.
2,500 B.C.	Indus Civilization.
1,000,000 years ago	Ice Ages begin.
750,000 years ago	Primitive man learns to use fire (in France and China).
500,000 years ago	Pebble tools; Soan Valley
300,000 years ago	Flake tools; Nomal Lake.
150,000 years ago	
70,000	Big game hunters; Mardan
15,000	Sanghao cave dwellers.
10,000	Ice Ages end; farming.

4

The Aryans

The Aryans were a cattle breeding people who originally lived in Central Asia. They belonged to various tribes but spoke a common language. They raised cattle, sheep and goats. Fast horses pulled their war chariots, and they were used to fighting over grazing lands with their many well-made weapons: bows and arrows, lances and spears, battle axes, swords and slings.The Aryans were a rough people who loved to boast and gamble and drink. chariot racing was their favourite sport. They also loved music and dancing and played drums, stringed instruments and flutes.

The Aryan family, like that of most warlike, herding groups, was patriarchal. That is, the oldest male member was head of the family. The birth of a son was greeted with extra celebration since he might grow up to be a great warrior. But marriages were still arranged according to the wishes of both young people, and widows were not ill-treated. Women participated in the early Aryans' religious ceremonies.

Aryan Religion

The Aryans, being an 'outdoor' people, worshipped the different forces of nature, such as storm, fire, and wind. We have seen that the Indus Civilization people and other ancient farmers worshipped the Earth Mother. The Aryans were herders and worshipped mainly male gods. Indra, the god of storm and war, was their chief god. He wore a golden armour and hurled mighty thunder-bolts at his enemies. Agni, the fire god, received sacrifices. Varuna the sky god saw everything everyone did so people prayed to him for forgiveness for their sins. Mitra was a sun god. Usha, the female goddess of dawn was young and beautiful.

The Migration

Around 200 BC some of the Aryan tribes began leaving their Central Asian homeland, perhaps in search of better grazing lands for their horses and herds. They moved west to Turkey, south to Iran and south-east to the Pakistan area, fighting with anyone who stood in their way and singing of their victories. Between 1800 and 1000 BC Aryan tribes were migrating with their families and herds through the mountain passes and into the Pakistan area. They did not come all at once as an organized invading army, but arrived in tribes over a long period of time.

Balochistan and NWFP

At various places in Balochistan we find copper seals, pins and axes which do not resemble anything made so far in the subcontinent, but do look like those made in western Iran and southern Russia around 1800 BC. Many graves have been found in northern Balochistan and NWFP along the probable routes of Aryan immigration. The poetry and metal objects found in these graves, and the different ways of burying the dead show that at least three separate waves of Aryan immigrants came into this land. The most famous of these sites is Timargara at Pajaur (Dir District).

From their songs, we know that the Aryans settled along the banks of the Swat River in the north, and the Gomal, Kurram and Kabul Rivers to the west. At Aligrama on the Swat River, four miles west of Mingora, are settlements dating from the 17th century BC. The people there lived in square stone houses with fireplaces. They stored things in pits and in large mud jars, and used well-made earthenware pots, and copper, bone and stone tools. They also made little earthenware figurines of people and animals. Their pottery closely resembles objects used earlier in north-western Iran.

Punjab and Sindh

But the real centre of early Aryan culture was in the Punjab. The Aryans called their home the Land of the Seven Indus Rivers. Besides the rivers of the Punjab, they were including the now dry Hakra and Chautang rivers southeast of the present Indus system.

The Dasas

The Aryan's religious songs tell us that the first waves of immigrants met and defeated the older inhabitants who lived in Walled Cities. These older inhabitants may have been the people of the Indus Civilization. In the Punjab and Sindh, there are many sites dating from this time which include the Cemetery H level at Harappa and Jhukar in Sindh. They are labelled Late Harappan Culture and may represent the time when the first immigrants defeated the previous population and then settled among them. Here we find, along with Aryan-type weapons and tools, red and black pottery which is decorated with western designs, but looks as if it were made by Indus Valley people. Such sites are also found in north-western India. Thus probable it seems that the first wave of immigration may have resulted not only in the final destruction of the cities, but also in a fusion of two cultures.

Even after the cities had been defeated and deserted, some of the original Indus Valley farmers must have remained in their villages. Whether or not the early Aryan immigrants knew how to farm when they arrived, they must have learnt how to grow the local crops under local conditions from the original villagers. While they were learning from the older population, however, the Aryans were also grabbing their fields and cattle. Since farming methods were still very primitive, and only the flood plains could be used for growing crops, it is possible that at this stage there may not have been enough farmland to share between the older villagers and the newcomers.

Racism

The Aryan tribes fought with each other as well as with the original inhabitants over cattle, grazing and farm lands. But in their struggle against the earlier people, whom the Aryans called Dasas and described as noseless and God-hating, the Aryans gained a sense of unity. Perhaps because they were embarrassed by the higher degree of civilization found in the older settlements and by their own greedy behaviour, the Aryans were very concerned to proclaim themselves as the superior race. They made fun of the smaller size, darker skins and flat noses of the Dasas. And they prayed to their gods for aid in crushing them. The older inhabitants fought back as well as they could, but they were no match for the Aryans with their metal armour, deadly weapons and horse-drawn chariots.

Aryan Economy

The Aryans were at first a cattle breeding people who turned increasingly to farming. Milk and *ghee* were important parts of the Aryans' diet, along with mutton, vegetables, fruit and various dishes made from barley. Cotton and wool cloth was woven in the villages, mainly by the women. The carpenter was quite important to the Aryans, since it was he who made their fast moving chariots. As the fierce Aryans preferred to raid their neighbours whenever they wanted to obtain cattle or other supplies, they rather looked down upon trading. When they did trade, it was probably by the barter system: that is, simple trading of one thing or things for another without the use of money. Most of the professional traders in Aryan times were probably either the original Indus Valley people or the more primitive tribesmen who continued to trade their jungle produce (trapped fish and animals, baskets etc.) for the villagers' crops. The horse and the cow were the Aryans' most precious possessions and the value of everything else was given as a certain number of cows. Cows were not yet regarded as sacred, however, and beef was eaten on special occasions.

In general the Aryans divided themselves into three groups or classes (*varnas*); the warriors or Kshatriyas, the priests or Brahmins, and the common people (mostly farmers) or Vaishyas. It was from the warriors that the tribal chiefs were chosen, but the priests were steadily gaining in importance. The Aryans tried to keep themselves separate from the non-Aryans, or original inhabitants who were classified as Shudras. Aryans who married Dasas or adopted their ways were also ranked with the Shudras and were not allowed to learn the sacred songs, take part in the sacrifices to the Aryan gods, or participate in the 'sacred thread' ceremony. So although the caste system had not yet developed, there was already a connection between religion and the division of labour.

Political Structure

When the Aryan tribes first arrived in the Pakistan area each tribe was led by its oldest male member. Day to day decisions were made by the *Sabha,* or council of elders. Occasionally the tribe would meet in a general assembly called the *Samiti* to discuss problems. Gradually the tribesmen began to choose their best warrior for their chief. His main duty was to lead them in battle and he received a

large portion of any loot that was captured. As the Aryan tribes settled down in the Punjab they each claimed territories for themselves. These became small kingdoms and the chiefs started to think of themselves as rajas or kings.

In Sindh there is still a tale told of a legendary king named Jaydrath who is said to have ruled in the 12th or 13th century BC. In the ancient Aryan hymns we hear of battles between the kingdoms. The most famous was the Battle of the Ten Kings. The kingdom of the Bharata tribe, which lay between the Hakra and Jamuna Rivers, was attacked by ten other tribes but it successfully fought them off.

Rig Veda

As we have mentioned, the Aryans offered sacrifices and sang songs or hymns to their gods. In the earliest hymns the Aryans ask their gods to defeat the people of the Walled Cities. By the time the later songs were composed, the Dasas had been defeated so long ago that they were only dimly remembered as demons. But the ruins of the old cities continued to be used as important landmarks. At this time the Hakra River, which the Aryans called the Sarasvati, was drying up. The Aryans composed hymns to their gods Indra and Varuna to send rains from heaven to keep alive the Sarasvati, the mother of the Aryan people.

By 1000 BC the Aryans had collected a set of more than a thousand hymns. These became the first book of the Hindu scriptures—the Rig Veda. It was not actually written down until thousands of years later, but it was preserved with great accuracy. Each generation memorized the poems word for word, changing nothing. Because these hymns are the main source of knowledge about this period it is called the Vedic Age.

Iron

Around 1050 BC later groups of Aryan immigrants brought the use of iron to the subcontinent. Now strong iron ploughs could be made to farm the sticky clay soil farther away from the river banks. Good iron axes could also be made to chop down the forests and make more farmland. Wells were dug and fields cleared. It is possible that at this time the Aryans stopped trying to drive the older inhabitants away and instead began to use them in opening up more farmland.

Soon fields were cleared and ploughed throughout the Punjab as far east as present day Delhi.

Ten settlements from this time have been found in north-west Cholistan (near Bahawalpur). Here there is painted grey and red pottery, very similar to the painted grey ware found on the Indian side of the border in northern Rajasthan, East Punjab and further east in the Gangetic Doab.

The Aryans found that the land of the *doab* between the Jamuna and Ganges Rivers in northern India was excellent for growing rice. The Jamuna-Ganges Doab became the cultural centre of the Later Vedic Period. The Aryans now proceeded to conquer the whole Ganges plain and to spread as far as Bihar in north-eastern India.

Later Vedic Period

The Later Aryans in northern India had become a very different sort of people from the rough tribesmen who first arrived in central Asia. They were now settled along the Ganges, growing rice in the fertile farmland with non-Aryan Shudras for farm labour. Land, which had once been held in common by the village or tribe, now became family property. A profitable trade was carried on by boat up and down the Ganges River. Some villages were growing into towns, especially at Hastinapur and Delhi.

Political Structure

Kings were no longer just tribal chiefs receiving gifts and a large share of the loot. Now they also collected regular taxes and maintained an impressive court, surrounded by their relatives and other court officials. There were just as many wars as before, but the king was no longer chosen and guided by the tribal assemblies. It was the priests who now crowned kings in complicated ceremonies. In recognition of the priests' role in giving them so much power and wealth, the kings and their warriors now gave more and more respect to the priests or Brahmins and as the upper classes became increasingly wealthy and powerful, it was natural that they would use their power to keep the wealth and status in their own families, so caste membership became hereditary.

Caste System

In early Vedic times any boy could become a warrior if he was good at fighting regardless of what his parents were, as long as he was an Aryan. Now everyone was born into a caste and it was impossible to improve one's position in life. The Brahmins were now regarded as superior to the Kshatriyas (warriors), but both castes enjoyed many privileges which were strictly enforced by law. The Vaishyas were included in the sacred thread (*upanayana*) ceremony and were allowed to learn the Vedas but they had to work hard and pay taxes to support the higher castes. The Shudras, or non-Aryans were not only useful for farm labour, but could do the unpleasant work like cleaning, which the Aryans wished to avoid. The Shudras were forced to live miserable lives, serving the three higher castes, eating left over food and wearing cast off clothes.

Soon even the professions within the castes became hereditary. The potter's son had to become a potter. The weaver's daughter had to be a weaver and people of one profession or sub-caste (*jati*) could not marry or even eat with the members of other sub-castes. This was very hard on many people, but on the other hand it did give everyone a sense of belonging and a knowledge of his exact position in life. During this time many different kinds of people were being absorbed into the Aryan (or early Hindu) society: different waves of Aryan immigrants, the previous villagers and the more primitive jungle tribesmen. Perhaps the caste system provided them with a feeling of security and order.

Women

The position of women was now steadily declining. A woman was expected to spend her whole life serving first her father, then her husband, and then her sons, no matter how badly she was treated by them. Eventually she was no longer allowed to learn the Vedas, and like a Shudra, she did not participate in the sacred thread ceremony.

Early Hindu Religion

As we have seen, the caste system was becoming more strict and more complicated. These words 'strict' and 'complicated described many other aspects of the later Aryans' religion. In early Vedic times

it had been hoped that hymns and sacrifices would put the gods in a good mood so that they would be happy to help the people with their problems. Now the songs just became supposedly magic words in very complicated sacrifices and ceremonies. It was the exact correct performance of the ceremony which was supposed to have the magic effect of forcing the gods to do what they were asked. By convincing the people of their importance in performing many sacrifices and ceremonies, the priests made themselves rich and powerful.

The Epics

After the Rig Veda had been composed in the Punjab, later Vedas continued to be composed and memorized in the new cultural centre of northern India. But as we have seen, more and more people were being absorbed into the Aryan society who were not allowed to learn the Vedas. They sang their own songs and told their own tales of the exciting deeds and battles of the time. They also handed these down from one generation to the next, but they did not have any strict rules about memorizing word for word. The songs and stories grew and changed over time into myth and legend. The two most famous legends regarding that time are so long that we call them epics. Sometimes The Later Vedic Period is called The Epic Age. These two famous epics are the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana.*

The *Mahabharata* tells of a great war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas on the great plain of Kurukshetra, near Panipat, which would continue to be a crucial battle-field throughout the subcontinent's history. The eastern kingdoms were allied with the Kauravas while the western rulers fought for the Pandavas, who eventually won. This war must have taken place around 950 BC.

The *Ramayana* describes the adventures of the Prince Rama of the north eastern kingdom of Kosala, and his wife Sita. Sita is kidnapped by the ten-headed demon-king of Lanka and then rescued by Rama and his brother with the help of Hanuman the monkey god. It is thought that the Ramayana describes in a mythological way the attempts of the Aryans to extend their power into southern India.

These epics are really huge collections of many exciting stories. They are still enjoyed today by both the adults and children of India, and have even been put into comic books and films.

Aryan Influence

The Epics and the later Vedas tell of the Aryans who had migrated away from West Punjab. In fact the latest Vedic texts even regarded the Punjab with disapproval. But many of the Aryans, like many of the Indus Valley farmers, stayed behind and continued to live in the Pakistan area. The caste system, which really developed in the Brahmin-dominated Ganges area, was not enforced in this part of the subcontinent until a long time afterwards. Farmland also remained common property in most of the Pakistan area. And while there were hereditary monarchies in the Ganges area at this time, and possibly in Sindh, Balochistan and the NWFP areas retained their tribal and democratic character, along with the importance of herding. Kshatriya (warrior) dominated republics were common in Kashmir and the Punjab.

So the Aryans were not just a group who passed through this land on the way to northern India where they established the caste system and early Hinduism. A rough, merry tribal people who still boast of their military prowess they learned a bit of civilization from the earlier farmers and then settled down in this land to add one more ingredient to the rich mix which forms the people of Pakistan today.

5

BUDDHISM

Around 500 BC the northern part of the subcontinent was a very exciting place. This was not because of battles, although there were many, but because this area was very quickly progressing once more towards a high level of civilization. Craftsmanship was becoming more technologically advanced every day. Trade was again flourishing, and towns were becoming cities. Great defensive ditches and ramparts surrounded the towns of this age because of the constant warfare between the various northern kingdoms. But this was nevertheless a period of growth in population, spread of agriculture and development of every kind. When men's lives are changing, their ideas about life (and death) often change as well. So this was also an age of deep thought and of religious reform.

The Puranas

In Late Vedic times, kings began to have histories kept by court historians. These histories were not yet being written down, but like the Vedas were memorized and handed down by word of mouth. Unlike the Vedas, however, these histories, called *Puranas,* were mainly interested in earthly events rather than spiritual problems. They usually began with mythological times, starting with the creation, first of the world, then of the gods and then of men. According to the *Puranas* it was Manu who saved the human race from a great flood by building a boat and taking it up to a mountain. This story reminds us of Hazrat Nu (peace be upon him) of the Koran and Noah of the Bible. The first laws and rules of living in Hinduism are called the *Laws of Manu.*

Gandhara

In the 7th century BC northern India and part of the Deccan were

divided into sixteen kingdoms. Kamboja was an area whose people spoke a different language from that of the rest of northern India. Scholars think that it may have been the territory occupied by various tribes living north-west of the Indus River. Gandhara was the major power in this area. The main cities were Pashkalavati (present day Charsadda near Peshawar), Sakala (Sialkot?) and Taxila. Extensive excavations have been done at Taxila, dating back as far as 700 BC.

The Persian Empire

Within a period of thirty years Cyrus the Great built a vast empire stretching from Greece to the Indus River. By 530 BC Gandhara was the easternmost province of the Achaemenid Empire. To these territories Cyrus's son added Egypt and Cyprus on the west. Then in 522 BC Darius the Persian seized power over the empire. Herodotus the Greek historian lived slightly later during the lifetime of Darius's son Xerxes, but he wrote about Darius's conquest of 'Hindus' which included Sindh and much of the Punjab. Darius also sent boats down the Indus River to its mouth, from where they journeyed westward towards the Persian Gulf. After this the Persian navy could be used to control the Balochistan-Sindh coastline.

'Hindush', with its capital city at Taxila, now became the richest and most populous province of the Persian Empire. It sent vast quantities of gold dust in tribute to the Persian emperor and Gandharan mercenary soldiers often fought for the Persians. They were noted for their white cotton robes and iron-tipped arrows.

Crafts and Trade

By the 5th century BC Gandhara was famous for its high grade steel. The Persian emperor gave swords of Indian steel as presents. Taxila was a centre of industry and trade and specialized craftsmen came from outlying areas to receive training there. Much trade also passed along the Swat River. In this whole area Aryan (Hindu) and Persian learning mixed to bring new progress. For the first time since the fall of the Indus Civilization, weights and measures were regulated.

Coins

By the 6th century BC the use of Persian-type coins had spread to

this area. The earliest coins found in Pakistan are made of silver which had been poured into a rectangular mould. These ingots are marked with three dots on one side. A second type of early coin is a heavy bent bar of silver with symbols punched into one side. Only a few of these coins have been found so far. Perhaps they were never used in great quantities or over a large area or span of time.

Religious Reform

This was an age of religious reform in northern India. Even during the Later Vedic Age many thoughtful people were unhappy with the way the Brahmins had created Hinduism. They did not see the use of such complicated ceremonies and expensive sacrifices and they did not believe that the Brahmins were really so superior. Some of these people became ascetics. They developed a new set of Hindu teachings called the Upanishads.

Upanishads

The Upanishads tried to explain why some people are born into a lower caste while others are born into a higher one, and why some people have difficult lives, while others have easy ones. The Upanishads claim that when a persons dies, his soul is reborn again in a new body. If that person has led a good life, he will be rewarded by being born into a higher caste or better position. So if someone is now leading a miserable life, this means that his *karma* or actions in past lives must have been bad. But if he behaves in this present life he can hope for a reward in future reincarnations or rebirths.

According to the Upanishads there is a Supreme God who is over and above all the other gods. He is Brahman and is the soul or *atman* in all people. If a person attains a true understanding of Brahman he becomes one with God and escapes from the endless cycle of rebirth. By 500 BC the doctrines of *karma* and reincarnation were generally accepted by people living in northern India.

New Religions

Many people, however, were still dissatisfied with the Hindu explanations. They found the Upanishads too difficult to understand. And people of lower castes, who were now becoming quite successful

in their various occupations as craftsmen and businessmen, wanted respect in their own lifetimes. They also wanted a religion in which they could actively participate. They found the answers they were looking for in the teachings of two great men: Buddha and Mahavira.

Buddha

Prince Siddhartha was born around 566 BC on the southern border of Nepal. His father was a Kshatriya king. The prince led a very sheltered life and never knew the meaning of pain or death or sorrow. As a young man he married his cousin, a princess, and his wife soon gave birth to a son. But one day, riding in his chariot through the royal deer park, he met with several extremely disturbing sights. First he saw an old man, then a sick man and finally a dead man being carried along by grief stricken mourners. The prince could not forget these sights. One night he left his wife and son, his palace and his comfortable life forever. He wanted to find a way out of pain and death and suffering for the whole human race.

After six years of wandering he felt that he had attained final truth or *nirvana.* He now felt beyond all pain and suffering and was ready to escape from the cycle of birth and death. But he decided that he must help all the people around him. So again he wandered from place to place, this time preaching his message to all who would listen. He was now the Buddha, or the 'Enlightened One'.

Buddhas's Teachings

The Buddha preached in Prakrit, a language which ordinary people could understand, and not in Sanskrit which had become the language of the Brahmins. He taught that to be free from suffering, people must free themselves from greed and desire. They must avoid the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-punishment. He asked people to follow the Eightfold Path; they should practise right thought, intentions, speech and actions. He told people that they could lead good lives by their own efforts and did not have to rely upon the priests. He said that a person should be respected according to his behaviour in his present life: if a man was born a Shudra but was a good man, he should be given as much respect as any Brahmin. But a sinful man should be considered a Shudra even if he was born into the Brahmin caste.

Spread of Buddhism

The Buddha's teachings appealed to many people of all castes. The large communities of craftsmen and traders in the towns, and the large number of lower caste peasants in the countryside were both attracted to this new religion. Buddhism spread quickly throughout northern India.

Most of the Buddha's followers continued their normal lives as farmers, traders or craftsmen. But some men and women joined the Buddhist church or Sangha and became monks and nuns. They also travelled from place to place preaching the Buddha's message. So when the Buddha died at the age of eighty-two, his new religion continued to grow.

Mahavira

Mahavira, like the Buddha, was born to a family of a Kshatriya chief in northern India. From his birth (around 527 BC) until the age of thirty he also lived as a member of the nobility. Then he left his wife and daughter to wander as an ascetic for twelve years until he too felt that he had found the truth. After this he was called Jina or conqueror, and his followers are Jains. Like the teachers of the Upanishads and the Buddhists, he also wanted to help men to escape from the cycle of rebirths and attain eternal happiness. To do this, Mahavira taught that man must become pure. Salvation through knowledge alone, as the Upanishads taught, was impossible. Mahavira insisted that no man on his own can ever completely know or understand anything specially something so marvellous as the Supreme God.

The Three Jewels

Since complete understanding is never possible, Mahavira taught that people should purify their souls not only through right knowledge, but through right faith and right conduct as well. These he called the Three Jewels. Under right conduct, the Jains lay great stress on helping rather than injuring. Up to this day they are famous for building hospitals and schools, and for going to great lengths to avoid injuring even the tiniest insect. With its strictness about non-injury, the Jain religion could not be practised by soldiers and farmers. But because Jainism, like Buddhism, was a reaction against the power of the

Brahmins with their caste system and sacrifices, it too spread quickly among the trading classes. It was, and still is, to be found chiefly in the big cities of India, among the traders, bankers and businessmen.

Independence from Persia

While Buddha, Mahavira and their followers preached in the various kingdoms of northern India, the Pakistan area continued under Persian rule. Slowly the empire weakened and lost its hold over the outlying provinces. By about 380 BC the many small kingdoms and tribal republics of this region were once more independent of foreign rule.

6

Alexander's Invasion

Macedonia

Macedonia was once a country just to the north of Greece. The towns on the plains of Macedonia were very like Greek towns and the people there considered themselves to be Greek, but the tribesmen in the hills above the plains were still fierce fighters and good hunters. In 356 BC a baby boy was born in Macedonia who would one day conquer much of the area which is now Pakistan and change its future for centuries to come. He was Alexander, son of Philip, the King of Macedonia.

Alexander

Alexander was raised and educated as a prince. Some Greek diplomats later remembered a dinner party which King Philip gave for them. After the dinner Philip asked his ten year old son to play the lyre (a stringed musical instrument), recite and debate with another boy. His parents were giving him a good education, and Alexander continued to love music and poetry for the rest of his life. Aristotle, one of the most famous philosophers of all time, was one of his teachers. Aristotle was already very famous and highly respected for his scientific work and it was probably he who gave Alexander his scientific curiosity and great love for exploration. Aristotle also taught him to love the great Greek epic, Homer's *Iliad.* Alexander always kept this book with him and tried to imitate and outdo its mighty hero Achilles.

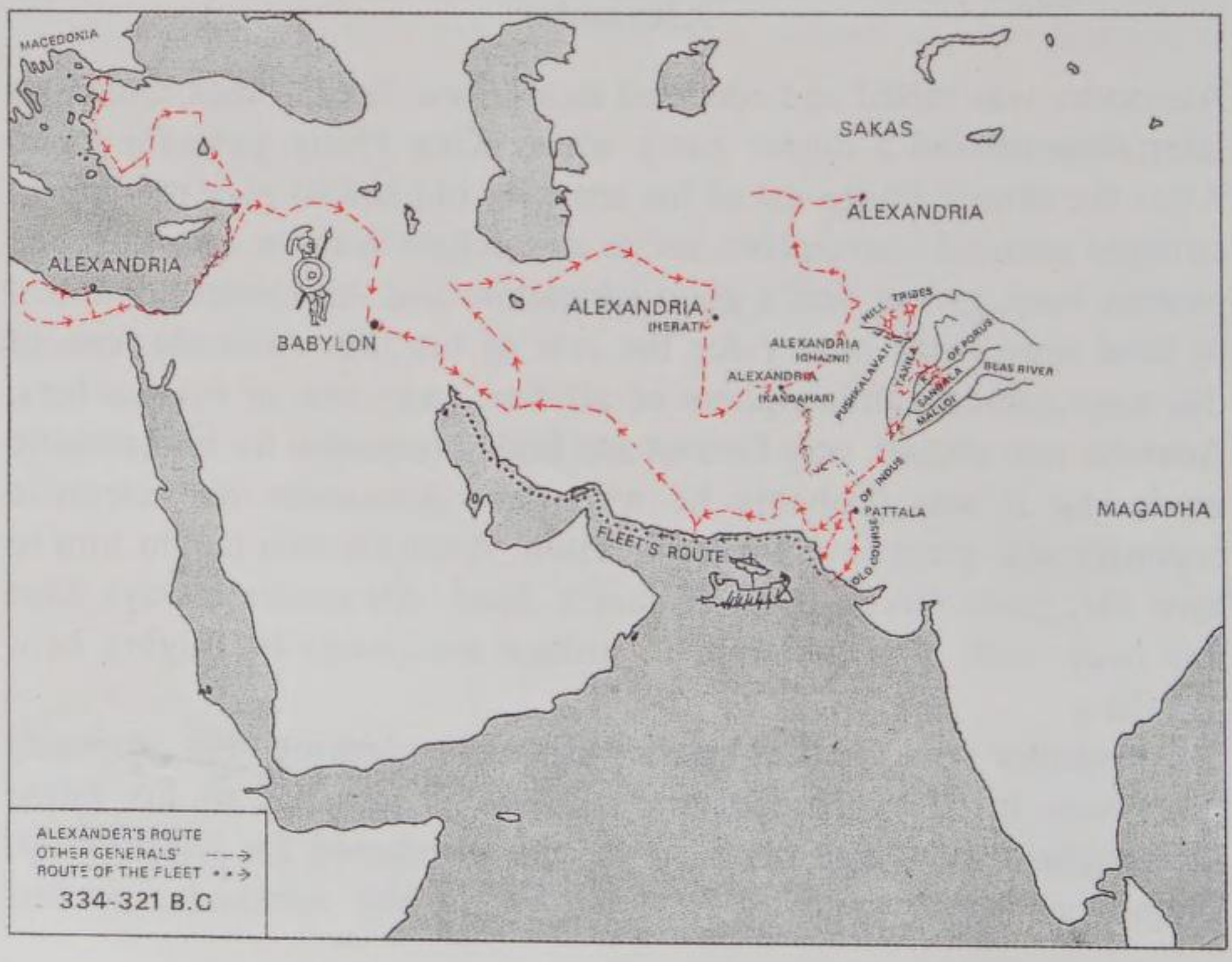
Alexander was good at sports, especially running. His favourite sport was hunting. He became extremely attached to his horse Bucephalus. This huge black horse was purchased for King Philip, but no one could tame it. Then the young boy Alexander noticed

that the big horse was frightened by his own shadow. Turning him towards the sun, Alexander was able to calm Bucephalus. When the boy leapt on to the horse's back, his father was very proud of him. King Philip said that Macedonia would not be a large enough kingdom for his son.

Philip, who had subdued and united all of Greece, saw to it that his son was well trained in the sciences of warfare and state administration. From his mother, Alexander learned to be deeply religious, but in the superstitious pagan way of her people. He also learned, unfortunately, to be terribly proud and stubborn, and he could be very cruel when he was angry.

The Young King

King Philip died when Alexander was twenty-six years old. Alexander quickly brought all of Philip's territories under control and set out to achieve his father's great ambition: the defeat of the Persian Empire. Within five years Alexander had defeated Darius III, the emperor of Persia, and everyone expected him to settle down to rule his vast new empire. But Alexander marched on, conquering the outlying



regions which had once been provinces of the Persian empire. He received the surrender of Gedrosia (modern day Balochistan) and of the area which is now Afghanistan. Then with great difficulty he conquered Bactria, which was the area north of Kabul, and Sogdiana, which was further to the north of Bactria. Wherever he went he settled Greek soldiers in towns and garrisons, often rebuilt on the sites of former Persian outposts.

Invasion of the Subcontinent

By 327 BC, Alexander was ready to invade the subcontinent. First, however, he sent out a messenger asking all the chiefs and rulers of the northern Pakistan area to come to a conference. Some came but many did not. Among those who came was Ambhi, king of Taxila. Taxila was a prosperous trading town and a famous centre of Hindu learning. Ambhi must have decided that paying tribute to the new Greek emperor (as they had once paid tribute to the Persian emperor) would be preferable to the destruction and chaos of war. So he offered to guide Alexander's army to the Indus where they could construct a bridge across that mighty river. Alexander sent his two best generals with Raja Ambhi. They proceeded towards the Indus through the Khyber Pass and Peshawar Valley.

The Hill Tribes

Alexander meanwhile attempted to subdue the hill tribes who had not offered to surrender. He was afraid that these tribesmen, if left to themselves, would cut off his supply lines. After a hard battle in which Alexander had been wounded and his army had killed all of its prisoners in revenge, the invaders camped in the Kalash valley. They built fires out of big wooden boxes, not realizing that the local people constructed their graves in this way. The hill tribesmen were neither Hindus like the people of the plains, nor Buddhists who were still mostly found in northern India. They probably belonged to the ibex cult, based on the mountain goat. Watching the Kalash people dance and sacrifice, Alexander thought they were worshipping his mother's favourite Greek god Dionysus. He decided that Dionysus must have invaded India long ago and settled the Kalash people here. So he and his officers also danced and sacrificed, and Alexander was even more excited about his invasion than he was before. Even

now the Kalash people construct carved wooden boxes over their graves and love to dance. And many traces of the ibex cult can still be seen in the mountains around Gilgit.

Alexander conquered several more hilltop fortresses with the aid of his siege implements which the local tribesmen had never seen. These included movable towers and different kinds of catapults which could throw stones and arrows. When the mountains were too steep to allow the catapults to come near, Alexander had his engineering corps construct ramps of earth to support them.

Crossing the Indus

His two generals, after spending a month besieging and finally defeating the town of Pushkalavati (Charsadda), executed its ruler. Then they got to work constructing boats and a bridge on the Indus River at Ohind, sixteen miles north of Attock. Raja Ambhi kept the invading troops supplied with grain while they worked. When Alexander arrived, Ambhi welcomed him to his side of the Indus with more presents including cattle and thirty elephants. Then they all marched to Taxila.

Taxila

The Greeks were very impressed with Taxila. But the ruins which have been found show a very disorganized settlement. At the archaeological site called Bhir Mound we can still see that the streets were narrow and crooked, the lanes narrower still, and the houses built without plans. Alexander noticed 'holy men' in the Taxila market place and sent one of his naval officers, who happened to be a student of philosophy, to interview them. Two Hindu ascetics were brought to dine with Alexander, and one of them joined his forces, lecturing his officers on Hindu philosophy throughout the campaign. Thus Hindu philosophy was introduced to the West by a 'holy man' of Taxila. In the area this exchange between East and West is remembered in the classic Buddhist text, *Sayings of Milinda.*

Porus

Alexander richly rewarded Ambhi for his hospitality. He also received visits at Taxila of friendly rajas from Kashmir. They like Ambhi, were allowed to continue as rulers of their own territories. But one powerful raja refused the invitation to submit to Alexander's authority.

This was Porus, ruler of the kingdom to the south-east of the River Jhelum. Porus was a tall, extremely brave man who headed a huge army complete with chariots and war elephants. He said that he would meet Alexander indeed; but on his side of the Jhelum and with his army.

The Greek invaders crossed the Salt Range, probably through the Nandana Pass, and came to the west bank of the Jhelum. There they saw the army of Porus encamped on the opposite bank. The Greeks stayed there for some time wondering what to do. Alexander and his troops were used to defeating chariots, but they were quite worried about fighting against elephants for the first time. Then one dark stormy night Alexander managed to sneak his cavalry across the Jhelum further upstream. On the following morning, when the main army crossed the river just opposite to the camp of Porus, the Greeks were able to surround, and defeat the brave leader and his great army. Afterwards, the badly wounded Porus was brought before Alexander. He asked Porus how he should treat him, and Porus replied, 'As befits me; like a king.' Alexander was so impressed with this man's courage both in war and in defeat that he really did treat him like a king. He restored his kingdom to him and afterwards left Porus in charge of all his northern conquests.

Bucephalus

A sad thing happened to Alexander at this time. His dearly beloved horse Bucephalus, who had accompanied him on all his travels, died during the battle. Bucephalus had become very old and could no longer fight, but this huge black horse had become a symbol of Alexander's invincibility. Before every battle Alexander would mount him and speak to his troops before changing to a younger war horse. Now Alexander had a tomb built for Bucephalus on the banks of the Jhelum. Unfortunately it was soon swept away by monsoon floods.

Of the two towns which he built on either side of the Jhelum, one was called Nicaea which means Victory, and the other Bucephala in memory of the horse. We think that Alexander and his cavalry probably crossed the Jhelum near the modern town of Jalalpur and probably fought with the army of Porus near Chilianwala. The sites of Nicaea or Bucephala have never been found. Perhaps they too were washed away or buried in silt by the yearly monsoon floods.

Plans to Sail Home

Alexander thought that he was now almost at the edge of the world. The Greeks believed that a single ocean surrounded the earth's one piece of land. Alexander felt that he had to go only a little further before he reached that ocean. After a short trip to this eastern shore he would have conquered all of Asia—or so he thought. Then he planned to sail down the Jhelum to the Indus and on down that river until it joined up with the Nile River in Greek-governed Egypt. It was with great disappointment that he eventually had to learn two geography lessons: there was a lot more of Asia and he was a long, long way from home. He would also have to learn something about the climate of this region. Unknown to him, the monsoon season had just begun.

Alexander ordered a great fleet to be prepared on the banks of the Jhelum. While this was being done, he and his main force continued to march eastwards. They defeated many local rulers as they went along and added their territories to the kingdom of Porus. They crossed the Chenab and the Ravi and with great difficulty stormed the fortified city of Sangala. In the neighbourhood of modern Lahore they found a friendly prosperous country whose king feasted and entertained Alexander and his officers. Alexander was very impressed with the local breed of hunting dogs and gratefully accepted one as a gift.

Troops Refuse to Cross the Beas

The king of the territories around present day Amritsar was also friendly but he had depressing information for the soldiers. He described the long Ganges plain stretching before them. The various rulers along its banks were well equipped with war elephants, and the last and greatest kingdom, Magadha, had an army of hundreds of thousands of men with chariots and elephants. Alexander was only more excited to learn of the difficulties which lay ahead. But his soldiers refused to cross the Beas.

The troops were miserable in the monsoon weather and had suffered many injuries at Sangala. Most importantly they had been away from their homes and families for eight long and dangerous years. Alexander tried to inspire them with one of his famous speeches, and then attempted to shame them with his anger. He sent the men away and began to sulk. The next morning he threatened to go on alone if no

one would go with him, and for the next two days refused to see even his officers and good friends. But the men were determined to go home. Alexander was forced to give in to their wishes with an announcement that his priests had learned that the gods were against any further advance. Historians are still arguing whether or not Alexander could have conquered the Ganges plain if he had persuaded his men to march on.

The Fleet Sails

Now, however, they returned to the Jhelum where the boats and fresh troop reinforcements were waiting. There were beautifully decorated warships, horse transports and baggage vessels. The army sailed downstream with most of the baggage train following under escort by land. Various tribes were subdued along the way. Some of the boats, including Alexander's flagship, were caught in whirl-pools at the place where the Jhelum joins the Chenab. The boats collided into each other, smashing the lighter warships, and Alexander among others had to swim for his life.

Multan

At this point Alexander sent most of his forces ahead while he and his toughest troops set out by land to defeat a people called the Malloi. After subduing the tribes and towns in this part of the Chenab-Ravi Doab, they finally reached the Malloi who retired into their fortress city of Multan. The battle for Multan was the most dangerous event in Alexander's life. The walls had to be scaled, and Alexander was the first to grab a ladder, reach the top and jump down into the city. He found himself alone in a rain of spears and arrows. Three senior officers who came to his aid were soon wounded. Alexander, with an arrow buried deep in his chest, slashed with his sword and hurled stones until he collapsed beneath his shield, spurting blood. But now his Macedonian soldiers came pouring into the city and massacred the fleeing inhabitants including women and children. Alexander was carried away on his shield, seriously wounded. The rumour spread among the troops that Alexander was dead until he somehow managed to sit on his horse, dismount and walk into his tent. Alexander's friends were angry with him for moving about with a serious wound, but his troops were very happy to see him alive.

Down the Indus

Many local rulers, who did not want to be massacred like the people of Multan, sent gifts to Alexander, and he granted them local self-government within his lower Indus province. The fleet, which had reached the Indus, continued to proceed downstream, and Alexander founded towns with dockyards to serve as naval bases for the control of his new territories.

The veterans, some infantry units and the elephants were sent west by the known route through Kalat, Quetta and Kandahar so that they could deal with rebels in eastern Iran. With the rest of the army and his fleet Alexander was still determined to explore the sea route home although he now realized that the Indus flowed into the sea a long way from the River Nile. The fleet would sail along the coastline while the army marched along the shore, supplying the boats at intervals.

At Pattala, where the Indus used to divide into two branches, Alexander had fortifications and another dockyard built. Then he explored both branches of the river down to the sea. After sacrifices to the Greek sea-god, both naval and land forces started out on their homeward journey. This was to be the most difficult part of the whole expedition. The tribesmen of south-west Sindh were determined to block their way, and the rulers on the Indus rose in rebellion behind them. It seems that most of the army's supplies were lost or captured before they had even entered the Makran desert.

The Makran Coast

Now soldiers, sailors and camp followers all faced starvation. It is estimated that of the 40,000 people who marched into the Makran Desert with Alexander more than half died along the way. Finally the land forces, having lost all contact with the fleet, reached Gwadar. Here the desert began to give way to grazing land. Knowing that the fleet, if it had survived at all, would have no supply problem beyond this point, Alexander turned inland. When they reached Kerman in Iran, the army celebrated, offered sacrifices of thanksgiving and waited anxiously for news of the fleet.

The Fleet Arrives

Alexander was immediately kept busy sorting out the problems which had arisen in his vast empire during his absence. He punished local governors who had misbehaved and appointed new ones. By the time his admiral arrived safe and sound, Alexander was ready with new plans for further exploration of the sea routes. He sent men to explore the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and to build Greek ports at strategic places. He himself intended to sail around the Arabian peninsula since all of his boats turned back without succeeding. He also ordered a new fleet constructed for the exploration of the Caspian Sea.

Alexander Dies

Suddenly Alexander died. Historians are still uncertain of the cause of his death. Some of his officers hinted that he may have been poisoned. Others recorded that he died of a fever—perhaps pneumonia complicated by the chest wound received in Multan and by too much celebrating after the enforced fast in the Makran Desert.

In any case Alexander never had time to organize properly the government of his new empire—especially its outlying provinces. His death was followed by years of disorder with different generals and officials grabbing parts of the empire for themselves and murdering or fighting anyone who tried to interfere. Ptolemy, who had been a general in Alexander's Asian campaign, and later wrote a book about it, seized Egypt. Seleukos, another general who had accompanied Alexander, claimed the Asian provinces.

King Porus on the Jhelum was soon murdered by a Greek officer who wanted his elephants. Most of the officers now deserted their garrisons, where Alexander had left them in charge of both Greek and Asian soldiers. They came west to join in the scramble for power. Thus Alexander's dream of a vast unified Greek and Persian empire died with him in 323 BC, just four years after he first entered the region.

Greek Influence

But his effort to bring Greek culture to all of Asia was much more successful. He had founded hundreds of Greek towns throughout his empire, and his plans to found more towns and to bring the ancient

sea routes under Greek control were carried out by some of his successors. Although the empire did not survive, Greek influence did. This influence was to be an extremely important factor in the cultural life of the region for a thousand years: 300 BC–AD 700.

Alexander, or Sikander as he is called lives on in the folk tales of Pakistan. Many of the villagers in the northern areas claim descent from Greek soldier-settlers.

7

The Mauryan Empire

Magadha

As Alexander's men had learned to their dismay, Magadha was a powerful kingdom of north-eastern India on the banks of the Ganges, in present day South Bihar. It had flourished since 700 BC and was an important kingdom by the time of the Buddha.

Chandragupta Maurya

The *Puranas* tell of a low-born member of the royal family of Magadha, named Chandragupta Maurya, who displeased his king and had to flee into exile. Alexander's companions wrote of a young man named Sandrocottus who annoyed Alexander in Taxila with his bold manner. It seems that Chandragupta and Sandrocottus were one and the same bold young man. While he was in the town of Taxila Chandragupta was also making some very valuable friendships. Here he met Kautilya, the crafty Brahmin who was to remain Chandragupta's chief adviser throughout his career. Kautilya was also in the 'bad books' of the Magadha ruler. Chandragupta also formed alliances with local rajas of the northern Pakistan area.

The Mauryan Empire

Soon after Alexander's death, Chandragupta and his allies attacked the leaderless Greek garrisons, and liberated the Punjab. Using this area as a base, he now managed to lead a rebellion in Magadha. The king was overthrown and killed, and in 321 BC Chandragupta ascended the throne in Magadha's capital city of Pataliputra (present day Patna) to become the first ruler of the Mauryan dynasty. Soon most of the northern subcontinent was under Chandragupta's control.

In the meantime, however, Seleukos, one of Alexander's generals had laid claim to Alexander's Asian province. Now he marched into the Punjab, intending to reassert Greek authority. But he was completely defeated by Chandragupta Maurya. In the peace settlement of 305 BC Chandragupta was given the territory which now comprises Pakistan, most of Afghanistan, and Iranian Balochistan, as well as the hand of Seleukos's daughter in marriage. In return Chandragupta sent 500 elephants to Seleukos. These elephants played a very important role in establishing Seleukos's rule over Syria, Iraq, Iran, north-west Afghanistan and Bactria. After this good relations were maintained between the kingdom of Seleukos and the Mauryan Empire. Megasthenes the Greek was sent by Seleukos to be his ambassador at Chandragupta's court.

Sources of History

Megasthenes resided in Pataliputra for many years and wrote a detailed account of his stay called the *Indica,* which is an important source of information on this period. Kautilya, who became Chandragupta's chief minister, wrote a textbook on state administration. This book called the *Arthasastra,* describes the administrative, political, economic, and military system of the Mauryan Empire.

Mauryan Government

According to the *Arthasastra* Chandragupta's government was very organized and very strict. Government officers were appointed to look after markets, public works, irrigation, foreign residents and many other departments. They had to keep complete records. Many spies were employed to keep the king informed about the general population and about his officers as well.

Punishments were severe and differed according to the caste of the criminal. A thief could be sentenced to death for stealing even a very small sum of money, so there were very few thefts in the capital city.

Agricultural Economy

The empire maintained a huge army which had to be kept supplied. Food for the troops, and fodder for the elephants, horses and baggage

animals were obtained by taxing the farmers' crops. The Maurya government claimed that all land in the kingdom was the property of the king. But in the outlying parts of the empire, for instance in much of NWFP, Balochistan and Sindh, the Mauryan government was satisfied with tribute from the local rulers and did not try to interfere with tribal or village ownership of the land. Because it needed part of the crop, the government took an active interest in developing the agricultural economy. Peasants from overpopulated areas were resettled on new lands, and irrigation projects and roads were built.

Trade

The new roads, the strict control of law and order, the large size of the empire and the good relations with the West—all of these factors helped to encourage the growth of trade. In the countryside trade was still done mainly by barter. The unit of value was now a certain amount of rice, instead of the cow as in Aryan times. In the towns the people used coins. Thousands of punch-marked coins (thin circular or rectangular pieces of mixed silver and copper) have been found at almost every Mauryan archaeological site in the subcontinent. The oldest coins had one almost blank side while different symbols were struck on the other. These were used in the Pakistan area in the fourth and third centuries BC. Around 300 BC the first die-cast coins, made by pouring melted metal into a carved mould, appeared. They were decorated with Buddhist symbols. Very well-made coins with a lion symbol were cast at Taxila.

Long distance trade was mainly in luxury goods like salt and spices. The Greeks wrote about the 'mountain of salt' in the Punjab area—the Salt Range. Ivory also continued to be exported.

Cities

With the growth of trade the cities grew. They were also highly regulated by the Mauryan government. Pataliputra, the capital of the Mauryan Empire, was a very large city. Megasthenes claimed that it had a population of 400,000 which seems an impossibly high figure for those days. The city was surrounded by high walls with watch towers and a moat filled with water. Chandragupta had huge wooden palaces with splendid pillared halls copied from the Persian palaces. Taxila remained the capital city of the northern part of the Mauryan Empire.

Learning

Taxila was both an important commercial centre and a thriving Brahmanical (Hindu) university town. Among the famous scholars connected with Taxila at this time were the renowned Sanskrit grammarian Panini who was born in a village near Ohind above Tarbela. The introduction of writing in the subcontinent probably took place around this time. Sharaka, the master of Indian medical sciences, and Kautilya, the chief minister, also came from Taxila.

Bindusara

Chandragupta Maurya ruled for twenty-four years. According to Jain traditions he became a monk towards the end of his life and retired to a Jain monastery in the south. His son Bindusara conquered the Deccan. Bindusara continued to maintain good relations with Seleukos. During this time the Ptolemies, the Greek rulers of Egypt, became nterested in reviving the ancient Egyptian sea trade through the Red Sea to the Horn of Africa (Somalia) in order to obtain Indian war elephants. These had become very fashionable among Greek generals ever since Alexander's invasion. Most of the Pakistan area's products however were shipped from the mouth of the Indus River through the Persian Gulf and then by land across the north of Arabia.

Ashoka

Ashoka was one of the greatest rulers the world has ever known. He was great not only because he ruled a huge empire—most of the conquests were made by Chandragupta and Bindusara—but also because he tried to be a good ruler.

As a prince Ashoka had governed the vice-regencies of Taxila and Ujjain. In his first years as king he was mainly interested in enjoying the benefits of kingly life. He spent much of his time at hunting and other sports. After eight years he decided to round out the borders of his empire by conquering Kalinga on the east coast of India. Kalinga was crushed completely. Hundreds of thousands of people died in the warfare and in the famine which followed.

Ashoka was horrified by the amount of suffering which he had caused. He publicly renounced the king's traditional role of conqueror and was gradually drawn to the gentle teachings of Buddhism, although

he continued to give government support to all religions. He gave up hunting and prohibited the wasteful slaughter of animals for sacrifices and royal feasts. He decided to rule his country not by force but by *Dharma* or the law of piety. He softened the strictness of the Mauryan system of government.

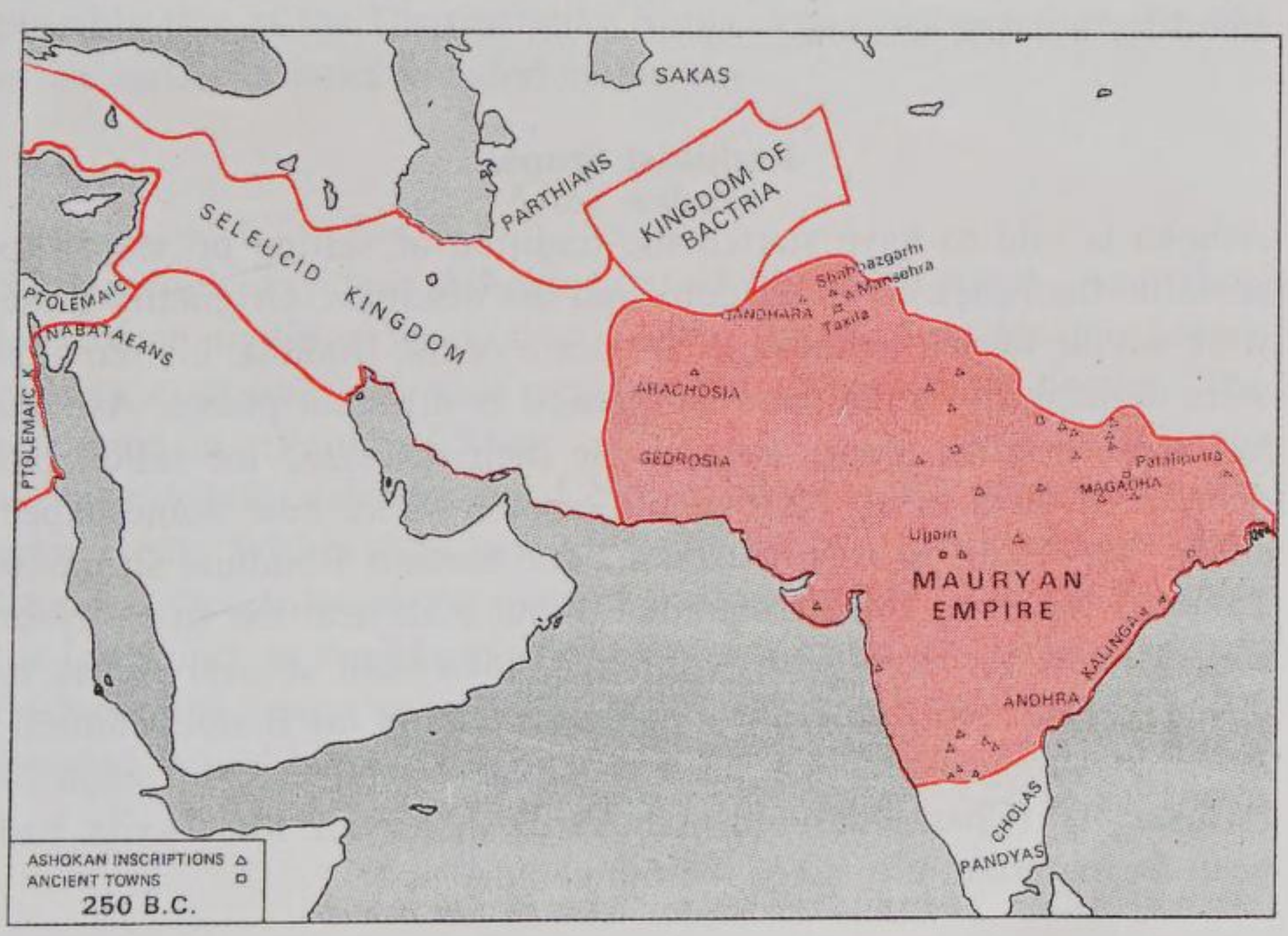
Ashoka now took to heart the welfare of his people, touring the lands to see their living conditions himself. He begged his governors not to be too strict with the people, but to think of themselves as 'good nurses'. And he appointed special officers to make sure that the people were receiving all the benefits due to them and to instruct them in righteousness.

Edicts

Ashoka wanted his people to live together in peace. He had royal edicts inscribed on rocks and pillars and set up all over the empire. Two of these have been found in Pakistan. They are the most complete versions of the edicts to have survived and were carved on rocks at Mansehra (eighteen miles north of Abbottabad) and Shahbazgarhi (ten miles east of Mardan) in the NWFP.

The inscription at Shahbazgarhi says:

> This has been promoted by the friend of the gods, the king, through



the *Dharma* proclamation:
— Non-killing of living things.
— Non-injury to creatures.
— Attention to relatives.
— Attention to Brahmins and ascetics.
— Obedience to mother and father and elders. This and many other kinds of *Dharma* practice has been promoted and it will be promoted for ever by the friend of the gods, the king.
The sons too, and the grandsons and the great-grandsons of the king will promote this *Dharma* practice.

In other edicts, Ashoka also instructed people to respect teachers, to show tolerance for different religious sects and to treat slaves and servants with kindness.

Mauryan Art

During Ashoka's reign and under his patronage, some of the greatest Buddhist art was produced. At this time the Buddhist religion did not allow images of the Buddha to be made or worshipped. Therefore, symbols of the Buddha such as the lion, the bull, the elephant and the lotus, were sculpted on the tops of slender columns. The story of the Buddha's life was also told through symbols: a riderless horse showed his departure from princely life, and the Wheel of the Law stood for his first sermon.

Buddhist Stupas

Ashoka is said to have started the tradition of setting up stupas to enshrine the relics of the Buddha and his disciples. Originally these were simple burial mounds. At the death of the Buddha, his remains were divided into eight parts and buried in different places. Ashoka had these original stupas opened. He then redivided the relics and distributed them to all parts of his empire where new domeshaped stupas were built to enshrine them. The earliest Buddhist shrine at Taxila is the massive Dharmarajika Stupa built near the first city of Bhir Mound. According to tradition Ashoka built several stupas in this neighbourhood, one of them holding a relic of the Buddha himself. An even stronger tradition links the large Shaikhan Deri stupa of Pushkalavati (Charsadda) with Ashoka. Pushkalavati, like Taxila, had been an important city since the 6th century BC.

The Spread of Buddhism

Ashoka summoned a Council of the Buddhist Sangha to try to sort out the differences which had arisen among the monks. At this Council it was decided to send Buddhist missionaries to foreign countries. Members of Ashoka's own family went to Sri Lanka, where the king and many of the people were soon converted. According to Ashoka's edicts, even Antiochus (the son of Seleukos, who had expanded his father's kingdom into Europe) gave a favourable reception to the missionary diplomats.

Missionaries were also sent to the outlying areas of the Mauryan Empire. By this time Buddhism had taken a firm hold in northern India, but it was during Ashoka's reign that it spread throughout the subcontinent. During this period a party of monks arrived in Gandhara to preach Buddhism and the religion now took root in the Peshawar. Swat, Buner and Bajaur valleys.

Monasteries

Generous assistance was given by Ashoka's government in building facilities for pilgrims and monks of all religions. Shaded roads, wells, rest houses and monasteries were constructed. The monasteries of the Taxila area were built later, but perhaps at least one of them, possibly that at the Dharmarajika Stupa, was constructed on the site of an earlier Ashoka founded monastery.

After Ashoka

Some people say that Ashoka himself became a monk. According to Tibetan tradition he died at Taxila. In any case his missionary efforts continued in this region. Buddhism soon became the predominant religion of Swat.

After Ashoka's death around 235 BC, however, the Mauryan Empire grew weak. Within fifty years it had split into two kingdoms, with Ujjain as the capital of the western portion. According to the *Puranas,* the last prince of the Mauryan dynasty was killed by his own general, Pushyamitra Sunga around 185 BC. So Ashoka's proclamations that *Dharma* would be promoted by his great grandsons went unfulfilled.

8

The Kushans

The Bactrian Greeks

While Ashoka was ruling the Mauryan Empire, the Seleucid Kingdom to the west was beginning to fall apart. The Greeks who ruled Bactria gained their independence from the Seleucids around 250 BC. When the Mauryan Empire began to weaken after 195 BC, Demetrius, king of Bactria, took advantage of the situation and conquered the Kabul River Valley. His successors subdued the area and proceeded to attack northern India.

Pushyamitra Sunga

By this time, however, the Hindu General Pushyamitra Sunga had killed the last Mauryan prince, and had set up the Sunga Kingdom in northern India. The Sunga met the Greeks on the battlefield and defeated them. This prevented the conquest of northern India. But in the struggle, Sungas power was broken, and after this time most of the subcontinent, including the Greek-ruled areas, was divided into small kingdoms.

Menander

The Most famous of the Greek kings was Menander, called Milinda by the Buddhists. He ruled the Kabul Valley and the Pakistan area as a united kingdom independent of Bactria from 160 to 140 BC. Menander made his capital at Sagala near present day Sialkot:

> Brave is its defence, with many and various strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white-walled and deeply moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross-roads and market-places. Well displayed are the innumerable

sorts of costly merchandise with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-halls of various kinds; and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions...Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages and foot passengers,....and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, Brahmins, nobles, craftsmen and servants.

It may also have been Menander who rebuilt Taxila and Pushkalavati (Charsadda). These towns both stood along the busy trade route between western Asia and the subcontinent. Under the Indo-Greeks they were the twin capital cities of Gandhara. The Greek temple of Jandial at Sirkap (Taxila), and the many carved trays showing scenes from Greek myths, suggest that Alexander's favourite god, Dionysus, was now being worshipped in Taxila.

Menander himself became a Buddhist after long discussions with a great Buddhist philosopher. There is a record of these discussions in the book *Milinda-panha* or *Questions of Milinda,* which also gives the above description of Sagala. Under Menander, Buddhists were protected from persecution by the Hindus who had become dominant elsewhere in northern India. This king must have won the love of his people; after his death the cities of Menander's kingdom fought over possession of his ashes. His wife ruled after him.

Central Asia

During this time Central Asia continued to be an area of change. This was the beginning of a new era of southward migration from Central Asia, similar to the Aryan migration thousands of years before. Now, however, some written records were being kept so that we know a bit more about the different tribal groups who were on the move.

The Greek rulers of Bactria were being challenged on the south-west by the Parthians, an Iranian people who now controlled most of the Selencid's former territories. North-west of Bactria were the pastures of the Sakas or Scythians. These wandering war-like horsemen were ruled by yet another Iranian people, called the Greater Yue-Chi in ancient Chinese records and the Yue-Chi had themselves been pushed south into Saka territory by the Huns. All of these peoples, the Bactrians, Sakas, Parthians, Yue-Chi and Huns, in turn entered the Pakistan territory as the Aryans had before them.

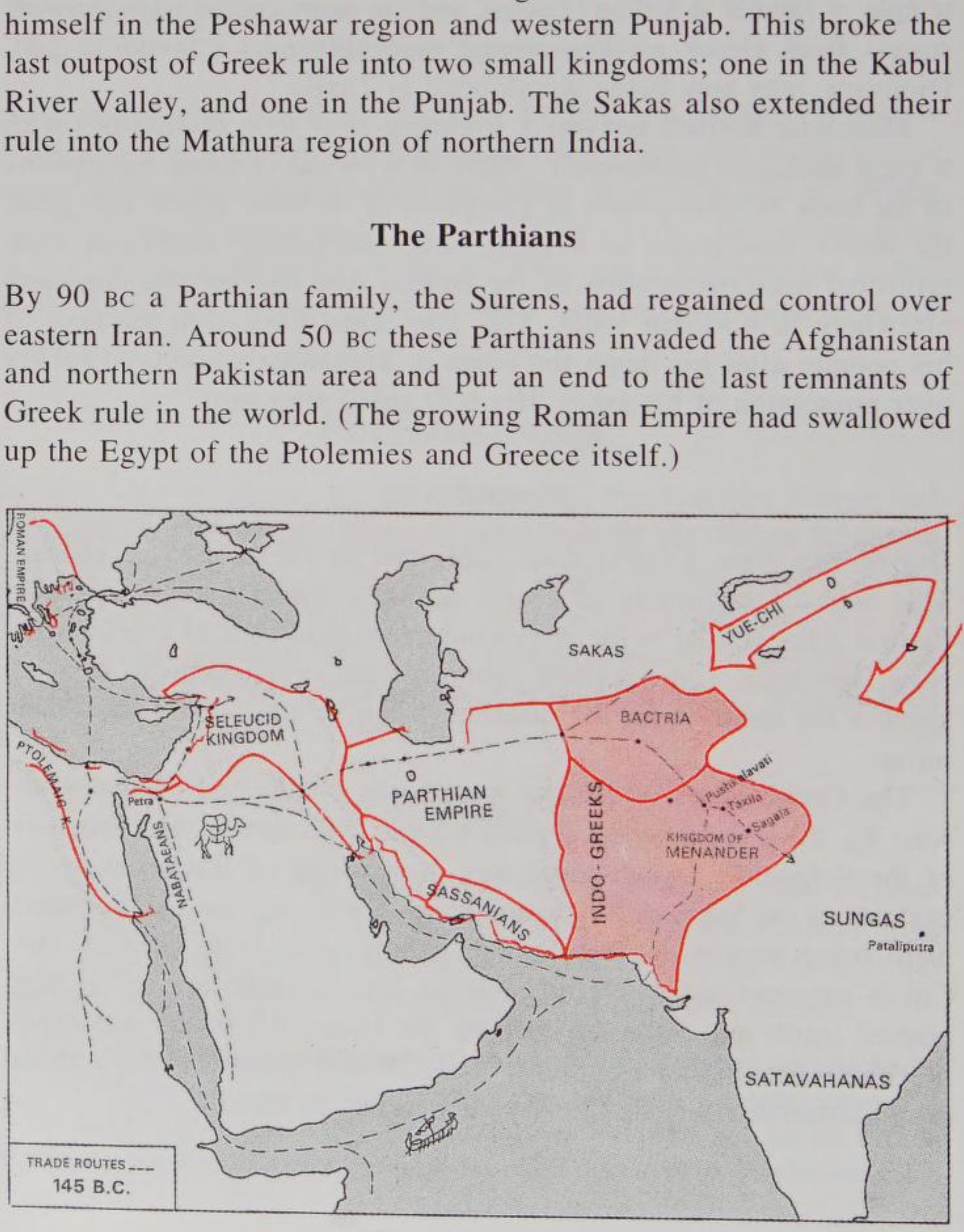
The Sakas

Around the time of Menander's death in 140 BC, the Yue-Chi overran Bactria and ended Greek rule there. The Sakas, who had become restless under Yue-Chi rule, began to move southwards with their horses into eastern Iran. Ever since this time eastern Iran has been called Sakastan or Seistan. The Sakas continued to migrate south-eastwards into Sindh and Gujarat in India. Here they ruled for four hundred years.

The most famous of the Saka kings was Maues who established himself in the Peshawar region and western Punjab. This broke the last outpost of Greek rule into two small kingdoms; one in the Kabul River Valley, and one in the Punjab. The Sakas also extended their rule into the Mathura region of northern India.

The Parthians

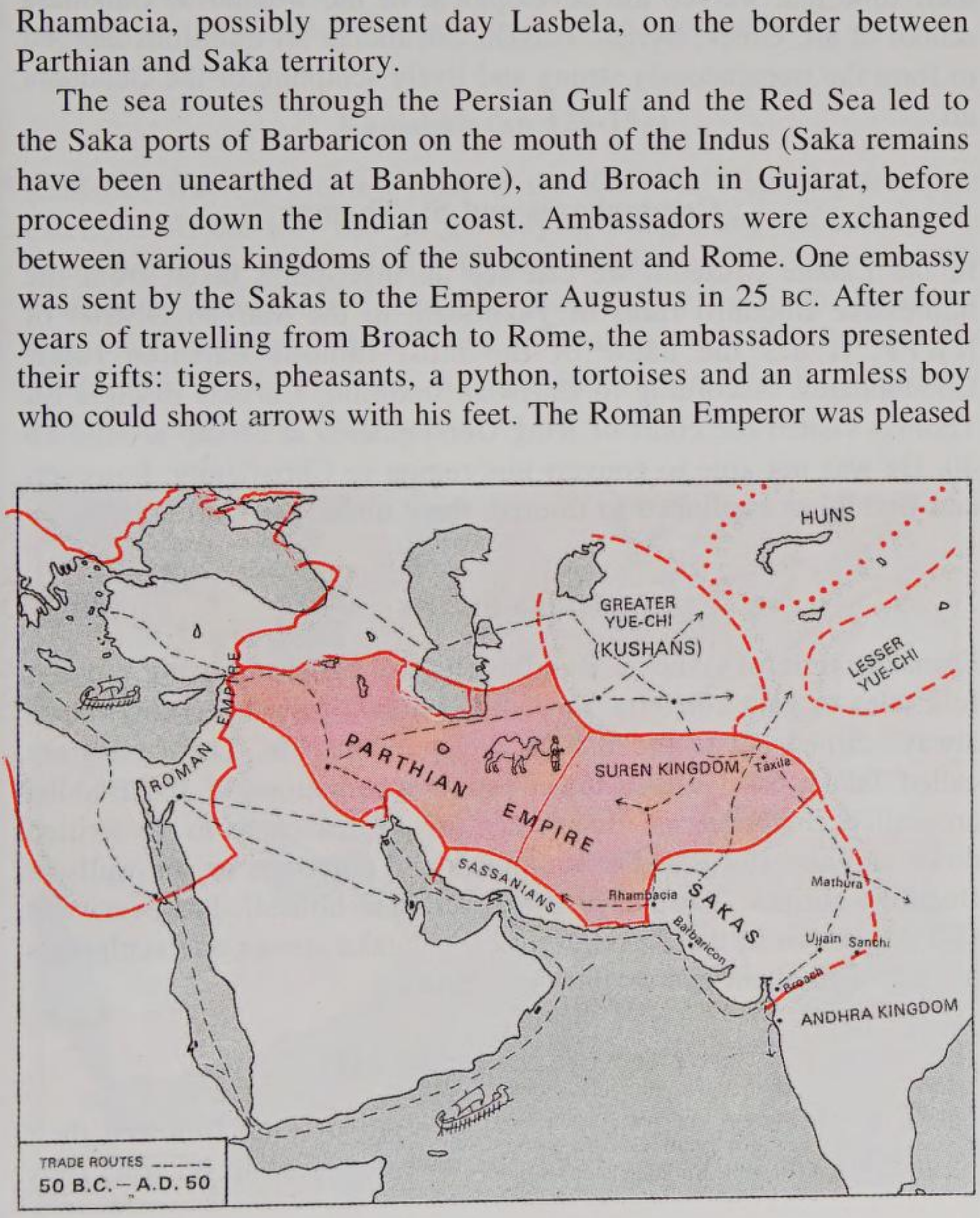
By 90 BC a Parthian family, the Surens, had regained control over eastern Iran. Around 50 BC these Parthians invaded the Afghanistan and northern Pakistan area and put an end to the last remnants of Greek rule in the world. (The growing Roman Empire had swallowed up the Egypt of the Ptolemies and Greece itself.)



Trade and Cities under the Sakas and Parthians (140 BC-AD 64)

This was an era of prosperity and economic progress. International trade flourished with the growth of the Roman Empire. Taxila was still on the northern trade route between western Asia and the subcontinent. The Sirkap of the Indo-Greeks was now only a suburb of the new walled parthian Sirkap, with its broad main street lined with shops. In the Taxila Museum we can still see some of the lovely things made or imported for the wealthy and cultured citizens of Taxila. The southern land route went through Balochistan to Rhambacia, possibly present day Lasbela, on the border between Parthian and Saka territory.

The sea routes through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea led to the Saka ports of Barbaricon on the mouth of the Indus (Saka remains have been unearthed at Banbhore), and Broach in Gujarat, before proceeding down the Indian coast. Ambassadors were exchanged between various kingdoms of the subcontinent and Rome. One embassy was sent by the Sakas to the Emperor Augustus in 25 BC. After four years of travelling from Broach to Rome, the ambassadors presented their gifts: tigers, pheasants, a python, tortoises and an armless boy who could shoot arrows with his feet. The Roman Emperor was pleased



and the tigers, the first to be seen in Europe, were presented at the opening of a new theatre in Rome.

Gandhara Art

Strangely it was the Parthians, the destroyers of Greek rule, who brought Greek culture and artistic traditions to Gandhara. The Parthians maintained close relations with western Asia and the Mediterranean. Parthian rulers also patronised art and the local religions. It is from their time that we see the development of the wonderful Gandhara school of art. Greek, Syrian, Persian and Indian art traditions merged to form the tremendously strong and lively sculpture of the Gandhara art.

Gondophares and St. Thomas

In the Lahore Museum we can see an inscription taken from the impressive Buddhist ruins of Takhtibahi in the Mardan District of NWFP. It has the name of the most famous Parthian ruler, Gondophares. According to Christian tradition, Christ's disciple St. Thomas visited the court of King Gondophares at Sirkap around AD 40. He was not able to convert this region to Christianity, however, and Buddhism continued to flourish there under the Parthians.

Jataka Stories

From the time of Ashoka, Buddhist monks had been using popular folk tales to gain converts. In their versions of the tales, the heroes always turned out to be Buddha in a previous life. These tales are called Jataka Stories, and the previous incarnations of the Buddha are called Bodhisattvas. Eventually the stories came to be written down and also illustrated in sculptures and paintings on the walls of Buddhist shrines. The image of the Buddha himself, however, was still not shown in these sculptures. The Jataka stories and sculptures tell us much about life during those times.

The Kushans (AD 64-241)

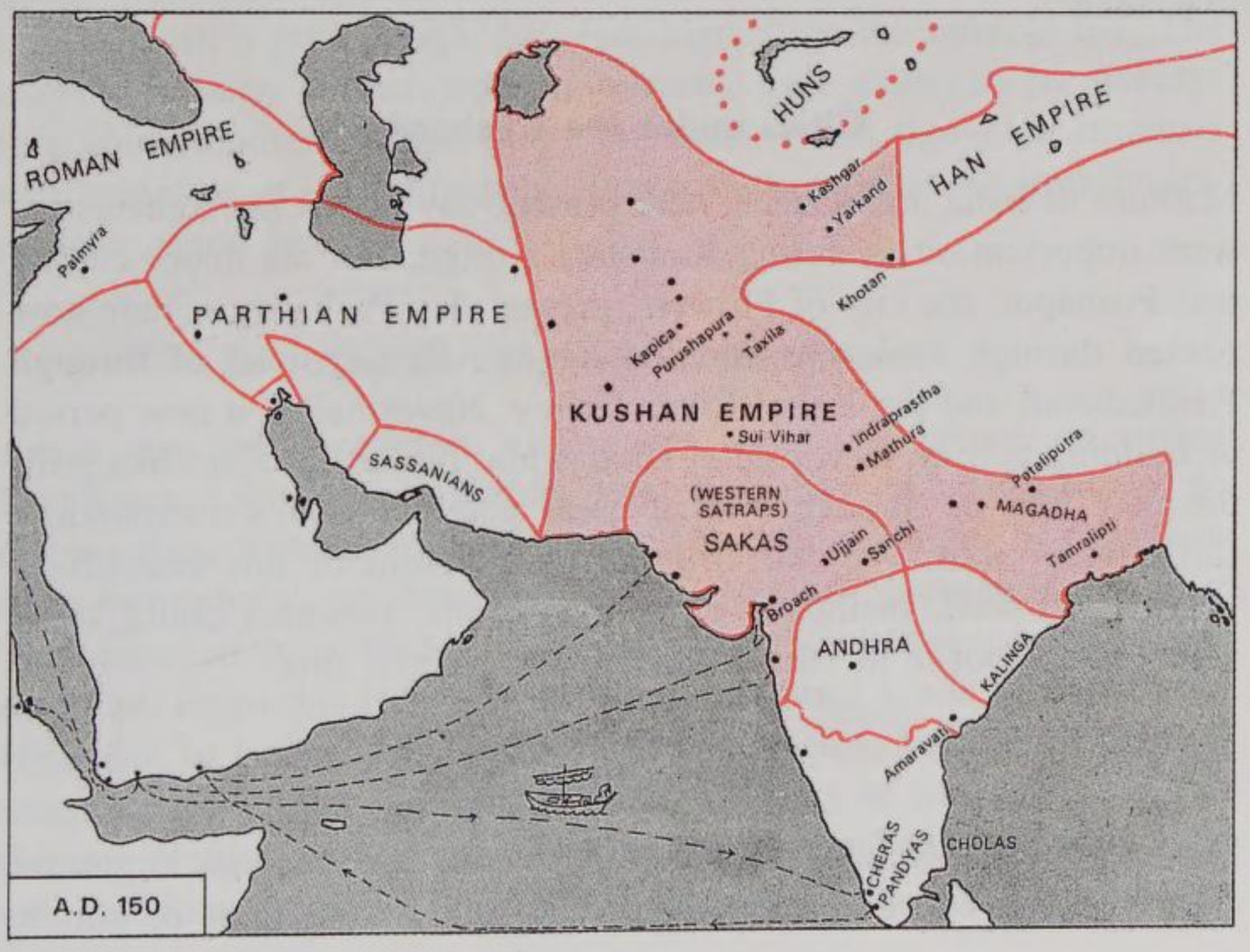
The Yue-Chi were originally a nomadic people who followed their cattle. One branch, the Kushanas, became dominant in Bactria. They

settled down and became prosperous and powerful by controlling and taxing the trade which passed along the Silk Route between China and the Mediterranean. The Kushana tribes merged to form the Kushana Kingdom of Bactria.

Soon (AD 64) the Kushana king Kujula Kadphises took Gandhara from the Parthians. His son Wima Kadphises extended the Kushan Empire into north-west India at least as far as Mathura, pushing the rulers there south into Gujarat where they continued to rule. The Kushans even tried to attack China which was threatening their control of the trade routes. But King Wima was defeated and had to send presents to the Chinese Emperor in order to appease him.

Kanishka (AD 128-151)

Kanishka was the greatest ruler of the Kushans. Kanishka's empire extended all the way east to the Bay of Bengal and his coins have been found in Bangladesh. To the south-west in Pakistan, his inscriptions have been found near Bahawalpur in Sindh. Kanishka was more successful than Wima in dealing with the Chinese. He subdued the chiefs of Khotan, Kashgar and Yarkand (north of Kashmir) who had previously been subject to the Chinese Empire.



International Trade

Now the Kushans could act as middlemen for Indian as well as Chinese goods on their way to Rome. The jewellery, perfumes, dyes, spices and muslin textiles of the subcontinent were in great demand in the Roman Empire. As the Romans had little to offer the subcontinent they paid for these imports mainly in gold. Many Roman coins have been found in Pakistan, and the Kushans often used the Roman weights and designs in their own coins. The drain of gold from Rome to the subcontinent presented a serious economic problem to the Roman empire.

The Kushans could send Indian and Chinese goods either by the land route, or down the Indus and from there by sea. When Rome was at war with Persia this sea route was especially important. Around AD 60, however, a Greek sailor discovered a secret which had until then been carefully guarded by Arab and Indian navigators. He learned about the monsoon winds which could blow a ship straight across the Indian Ocean and then blow it home again a few months later. After this discovery, the ports to peninsular India became more important. The kingdom of the Andhras or Satavahanas which stretched from the west to the east coast of peninsular India now flourished, and the sea trade between India, south-east Asia and China also expanded.

Cities under the Kushans

Mathura in India and Kapica, near present-day Kabul in Afghanistan, were important cities during Kanishka's reign. But his major capital was Poshapur, the city of Flowers, present day Peshawar. Trade now passed through Peshawar and the Khyber Pass instead of through Pushkalavati and the Kabul River Valley. Nevertheless a new period of building activity occurred at Charsadda. In Taxila, Kanishka built the new city of Sirsukh with a great gateway and a surrounding fortification wall. We can still see one section of this beautifully constructed wall. Inside its circular bastions, bowmen could stand safely and shoot in all directions through narrow slits.

Trade and Industry

In these cities merchants and skilled artisans had become important citizens. They had organized themselves into associations or guilds.

Through these guilds they could bargain with their rulers and municipal corporations over taxes and contracts for public works. The system of apprenticeship provided technical training to young people. Practical knowledge of engineering, mining and metallurgy was very advanced.

Science and Literature

Science was encouraged by the Kushans. Charaka, Kanishka's court doctor, performed the first scientific medical operation in the subcontinent, and wrote a detailed encyclopaedia of medicine. Kanishka also patronized literature. Sanskrit continued to be a literary language and was now used for Buddhist as well as Hindu writings. The main language was Prakrit which could be written in either the Karoshti script or the Brahmi script of the Ganges basin. Greek was the official language in the western part of the Empire and was used on all coins.

Kanishka Converts to Buddhism

According to Buddhist tradition, it was in Peshawar that the great Kanishka was converted to Buddhism. It is said that one day the king saw a young boy, a cowherd, making a toy stupa out of cow dung. Kanishka was so impressed by the child's love of Buddha that he built a great stupa, 620 feet high, over the humble toy. The stupa's thirteen carved wooden terraces were crowned by twenty-five gold coloured canopies on a tall mast. When the grand structure was complete, it is said that the little toy stupa came out from underneath to stand beside it.

The Development of Buddhism

As in any living religion, differences had again grown up within Buddhism. Like Ashoka before him, Kanishka called a Council to discuss these differences. Five hundred Buddhist scholars of Gandhara were instructed to set down the various Buddhist doctrines in writing. This resulted in a Buddhist Canon, but the differences were not resolved. From this time onward there were two kinds of Buddhism. Hinayana, or Lesser Vehicle Buddhists attempted to keep to the original teachings of Prince Siddhartha. The followers of Mahayana, or the Greater Vehicle, were more inclined to accept various local gods and religious practices into their Buddhism. And they placed more

emphasis on a loving Buddha who could be worshipped with prayers, flowers and incense. Hinayana Buddhism spread from peninsular India to Ceylon, Burma and South-east Asia. Mahayana Buddhism, which was dominant in the Kushan Empire, spread to Tibet, Central Asia, China and Japan. It also came to replace the older Buddhism in India itself.

At this same Council it was decided that images could be made of the Buddha. After this decision the Jataka sculptures began to show scenes from the life of the Prince Siddharta. As the Buddha came to be worshipped, his statues were made larger and larger so that his image could tower over ordinary mortals.

Art under the Kushans

History records that Kanishka's Peshawar stupa was the most splendid in all of the subcontinent. Many years later, when China had been converted to Buddhism, the descriptions of this stupa by Chinese pilgrims inspired Chinese architects to build their own version of Buddhist stupas, the pagoda. Now all that is left of this magnificent shrine is an unimpressive mound in the 'Kings' Mound' Cemetery at Shahji-ki-Dheri south-east of Peshawar, and the heavy bronze relic box from inside the stupa, which is now in the Peshawar Museum. But Kanishka had thousands of stupas and monasteries built all over his vast empire. These projects attracted the best artists and craftsmen from as far away as Greece. (It seems to have been a Greek artist who fashioned the Peshawar relic box.)

At the height of the Kushan Empire, its western border was only 600 miles away from the eastern edge of the Roman Empire. So now some Roman influence was also seen in Gandhara art. But Roman art, which was often an unimaginative imitation of Greek art, was very different from Gandhara art which had genuine roots in the eastern provinces of the old Persian and Greek Empires. During this period the Gandhara school of art flourished and produced some of the best pieces of sculpture art in Central Asia and China, where Buddhism spread during Kanishka's rule, and later in Korea and Japan as well.

In India the Kushans also patronized the Mathura school of art. This showed some western influence but remained basically eastern and Indian.

Kanishka's Death

In spite of his conversion to Buddhism, Kanishka, unlike Ashoka, continued to wage constant war to expand his empire. He remained a fierce old fighter to the very end. Ill and elderly, he led a last expedition to the north around AD 150. There, it is said, some of his people, who were tired of warfare, smothered him to death on his sick bed with his quilt.

After Kanishka

The kings who followed Kanishka were less famous, but the empire they ruled continued to be as large and as powerful as ever. Kashishka's inscription, found in Sanchi, in central India, perhaps shows that all of the Sakas' territories (the Western Satraps) were part of the Kushan Empire at that time. Huvishka, who began to rule about AD 156 put up inscriptions near Ghazni in Afghanistan, at Mohenjodaro in Sindh, and at Lucknow (east of Mathura) in northern India. Like Kanishka, Huvishka built many stupas and monasteries. But Vasudeva, the third successor, is thought by some historians to have converted to Hinduism. He ruled parts of present day Afghanistan as well as Pakistan and his coins are found all over the area. But his only inscriptions found so far are near Mathura and are written in the Brahmi script.

The Sassanian Persians

The Kushans, always expansionist, now tried to interfere in the affairs of Iran, where a southern Iranian people, the Sassanians, had taken power from the Parthians. Therefore the Sassanians attacked the Kushans at the first possible moment, and seized the capital city of Peshawar. Vasudeva's rule ended ninety-eight years after Kanishka's had begun, and with it ended the glory of the Kushan Empire. The Persians now claimed that their empire extended to the Indus River to their east and the Oxus River to their north, but they were exaggerating. The Kushan Empire had broken up. But small Kushan kingdoms continued to exist, sometimes independently and sometimes under the influene of the Persians, until AD 450.

Swat

Swat, called Udyana or Garden in Buddhist times, had declined in importance after the main trade route started going through the Khyber Pass and Peshawar. In the third century AD Swat fell victim to natural disasters. A series of floods and earthquakes destroyed many of its Buddhist monuments and the people shifted one of their main towns, Udegram up to a hilltop to avoid further devastation.

A Golden Age

The period of the Kushan Empire was a golden age. The Indus Civilization was the high point for the region in the age of ancient civilizations. The classical age, which began with Cyrus the Great of Persia, climaxed for the Pakistan area in the Great Kushans. The Kushan Empire, centred in this area, was on equal terms with the Han Empire of China and the Roman Empire of Europe. The Kushans overshadowed the Persians to their west and the Andhras to the south. It was an age of power and wealth and religious devotion. And all these three found expression in the beautiful art of Gandhara.

9

The Guptas and Huns

Empires Break Up

While the Kushan Empire was breaking up in the Pakistan area, the Han Empire of China was being overrun by rough nomads and the Roman Empire was going into a decline. Under pressure from both the Sassanians of Iran and the tribes of northern Europe, the Roman Empire split into two. The western half dissolved into isolated villages, although the eastern half, with its capital of Constantinople (present day Istanbul in Turkey) continued to prosper and trade for some time.

Trade Declines

Ever since the discovery of the monsoon winds by the Roman Empire's traders, Greek and Iranian merchants had been migrating from the northern region to the now busier ports of southern India. The break-up of all three empires meant a further decline in the international trade of the area. Long-distance trade within the northern subcontinent also decreased since the Ganges Valley was no longer ruled from Peshawar. Gold coins were replaced by coins made from alloys of cheaper metals. Soon there were almost no coins in use in northern Pakistan area. Sindh and Gujarat however, remained under the now 300 year old rule of the Sakas and continued to take part in sea trade, so gold coins were still minted there.

Tribal States

The withdrawal of the Kushans from northern India and parts of the Punjab allowed the rebirth of small tribal states in these areas. The Guptas were a clan living in the eastern Ganges Valley while the

Nagas were important in Central India. The ancient Madra tribe regained control over the Sialkot region, but the Gakkhars were the most powerful tribe of western Punjab.

Sassanians and Kushans

The Sassanians (who were also called Sakas) ruled Peshawar for a hundred years after defeating Vasudeva I around AD 240. The various Kushan chiefs who continued to rule in Bactria, the Kabul Valley, and parts of the Punjab and Sindh had to pay tribute to the Sassanians. Around AD 350 the Kidar Kushans were driven from Bactria by the Huns and established themselves in Peshawar, Gandhara, the Punjab and Kashmir. But they were also forced to acknowledge the Sassanians as their rulers until AD 388 when the Sassanian emperor Shapur III died. His death marked the end of Sassanian power in the northern Pakistan area, but Balochistan and Sindh grew even closer to Iran after Gujarat was added to the northern Indian Gupta Empire.

Later Gandhara Art

Under the Kushan chiefs new Buddhist stupas continued to appear and the old ones were enlarged. Huge statues of the Buddha were erected in monasteries and carved into the hillsides. But sculptures were now being made from clay instead of stone. This was natural since the new Buddhism encouraged the production of many images and stone cutting was too costly in an age of declining trade.

Religion

From their coins we can see that these Kushan chiefs believed in various religions: Buddhism, fire-worship, Hinduism and different combinations of the three. The Saka rulers of Sindh and Gujarat were now Hindus but they were tolerant of all religions. The ordinary people in the region, the peasants, artisans and traders, remained Buddhist.

Fa Hien

Fa Hien was a Chinese Buddhist who came to the subcontinent searching for Buddhist writings not yet known in China. He arrived

around AD 400 and found that the old Lesser Vechicle Buddhism was flourishing, with hundreds of monasteries and thousands of monks. His glowing description of Kanishka's stupa in Peshawar led to the fashion of pagodas in the Far East. East of the Indus the Chinese pilgrim met more followers of his own brand of Buddhism, the Greater Vehicle.

The Guptas

While the people in the small states were peacefully tending their fields, a new empire was emerging in northern India. The first Gupta to call himself emperor was Chandra Gupta I, around AD 320. His grandfather had ruled the Ganges Valley and now, as a result of a profitable marriage, Chandra Gupta I became the most powerful ruler in northern India. Coins were minted announcing the beginning of a new Gupta Era. Chandra Gupta's son, Samudra Gupta, waged constant war and was able to annex the small states of Central India. It seems that the tribal republics of the Punjab and western India were left as a buffer zone between the Guptas and the still-powerful Kushans and Sakas. The Gupta name does appear during this time, however, on a coin issued by the Gakkhars. Samudra Gupta carried on a long military campaign against the south-eastern coast of India, but the Pallava Kingdom continued to prosper.

After the decline of Iranian power around AD 388, Chandra Gupta Vikramadity managed to defeat the Sakas of Gujarat. With this new addition the Gupta Empire now extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

Gupta Economy

Although trade with the West failed to recover, trade with the East had increased. Most of this trade was carried on by the southern Indian kingdoms, but the Gupta Empire must also have participated. We do know that internal trade and industry had revived and that large numbers of gold, silver and copper coins were in circulation. The guild system, which we saw earlier under the Kushan Empire, now flourished in northern India. Representatives from the guilds served in city and village councils. But the crafts unfortunately remained strictly hereditary to subcastes of the Vaishyas.

Mathematics and Science

Banking and interest were highly developed and this led to advances in mathematics. The zero, which had been invented during the Kushan Era, enabled the development of the decimal system. One of the greatest mathematicians of the time, Aryabhata, was also a brilliant astronomer. In AD 499 he discovered that the earth was a sphere which rotated on its axis and travelled around the sun once each year. We can realize the relative advancement of the subcontinent at this time by remembering that Galileo of Christian Europe was tried for heresy at the beginning of the 17th century when he discovered that the earth revolved around the sun. (He only saved himself from being burnt at the stake by stating that his discovery was untrue.) It is thought that the Indian astronomers used both Roman and Persian knowledge in further developing this science, which unfortunately remained closely linked to astrology, or prediction by the stars.

Golden Age of the Guptas

The economic, scientific, and cultural growth which had occurred in the Pakistan area and Gujarat under the Kushans and Sakas now spread eastwards into the Ganges Valley and developed even further under the Guptas. This is why the Gupta period is called the Golden Age of northern India.

Architecture and Art

Until this time in India, shrines and monasteries had been built of wood and bamboo or carved into natural caves. At first the cave temples always contained small Buddhist stupas or images of the Buddha, but they eventually came to be used by Hindus and Jains as well. During the Gupta period simple stone temples, with four walls and a flat roof, also began to be built.

The popularity of worshipping images of the Buddha and of various Hindu gods encouraged the development of Indian sculpture. The contentment and serenity seen in the best examples of Gandhara art are also present in Gupta art, but with a greater degree of delicacy and refinement. The walls of the Buddhist and Hindu cave temples were also decorated with lively paintings.

Religion

Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism were all practised in northern India at this time, but Hinduism was becoming the most popular religion. The cults of Vishnu, Shiva and various mother goddesses, which were popular among the lower castes, were now accepted by the Brahmins into Hinduism as long as their followers did not challenge the caste system. In this way modern Hinduism developed by adapting itself to its surroundings. Hinduism was no longer a religion mainly for Brahmins but had become a faith of the masses. At the same time the Brahmins and their caste system were very firmly entrenched in northern India. In contrast to the comfort and culture of the upper classes, the lowest castes and the 'untouchables' led miserable lives.

Literature and Music

Many ancient Hindu texts and traditions were now written down from the Brahmins' point of view, including the *Puranas* and the *Epics*. The widespread desire for a man-god who could be loved and worshipped (like Buddha and Christ) was satisfied with the addition of Krishna to the *Epics*. The language of the Brahmins and upper classes, and therefore of education and literature, was Sanskrit. The lower castes, including women, were only allowed to speak Prakrit.

Members of the upper classes were expected to appreciate poetry, drama and music. Young people were taught how to sing, dance and play musical instruments. One of the Gupta emperors was himself an accomplished poet and musician. On his Kushan type coins Samudra Gupta had himself portrayed playing the lyre as well as trampling a tiger. The most renowned playwright and poet was Kalidas. Sudraka wrote the famous play 'The Little Clay Cart' during this period.

After AD 412 the Gupta Empire made no more conquests, but continued to enjoy prosperity and cultural achievement.

The Huns

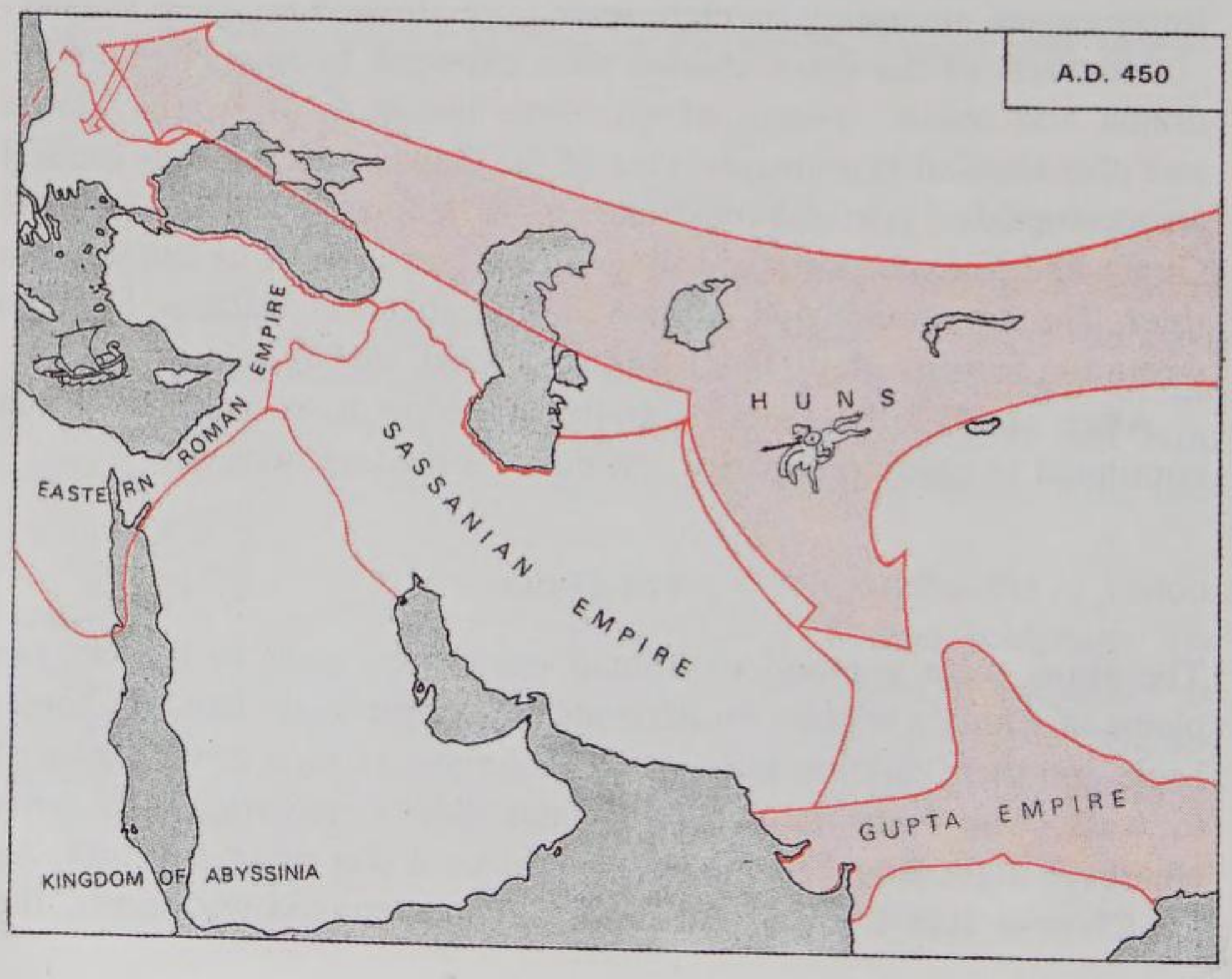
The Huns were a group of nomad tribes who used to wander the plains of China's western borderlands. They practically lived on horse-back, and their children learned to ride almost as soon as they learned to walk. The Huns moved with their flocks, pitching their tents wherever night found them. Their main food was meat and milk. As the Chinese Han Empire (200 BC–AD 220) expanded westwards, the

Huns found their pasture lands being turned into farms. Some settled down to become farmers themselves, but others moved on in search of new territory. We have already met the Huns, first when they pushed the Kushans into Bactria and later when they pushed them out again around AD 350.

After arriving in Bactria the Huns split into several groups. One group of tribes moved westwards towards Europe (AD 375–455). When they reached the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, the Huns displaced a group of tribes who moved south to the Kirman coast of Iran. These tribes would eventually migrate eastwards and become the Baloch people. When the fierce Huns arrived in Europe, more of the village tribesmen of northern Europe moved south into the Roman Empire, now much in decline. Some of the Huns themselves travelled as far as Greece, northern Italy and central France. The western Roman Empire was no longer in any state to absorb more newcomers into its civilization and finally ceased to exist altogether.

Huns Enter the Subcontinent

Those Huns who remained in Central Asia waged a nine year war with the Iranians whom they eventually pushed south of the Oxus



River. Around this time (AD 443-451) some tribes of the Hun Confederation crossed the Hindu Kush mountains. The Hun chief Lae-lih overthrew the remnants of Kushan power and established his rule over the Kabul Valley and Gandhara. The Huns attacked northern India as well around AD 455. Although they were at first repulsed, the power and unity of the Gupta Empire was broken. The last great Gupta emperor died in AD 467. While resisting Hun aggression the tribal republics of the Punjab seem to have lost both their democratic character and their vigour.

The Huns were more immediately successful in their continued struggle with Iran. In AD 484 they managed to kill the Sassanian emperor. They were now the dominant power in Central Asia ruling their vast empire from Balkh in Afghanistan.

Toramana

The second Hun king, Toramana, ruled the newly conquered Punjab from his home (according to the Jain writings) on the banks of the Chenab. Toramana built a temple of the sun in Multan. But at Khewra in the Salt Range an inscription recorded his donation to a Buddhist monastery in hopes of blessings for himself and his family. Toramana's silver coins also reflect his patronage of both fire-worship and Buddhism. Some are Sassanian in style and show the fire-altar. Others are Gandhara-type coins. Copper coins from Toramana's reign are found in the Punjab as far as the Jumna River.

Around AD 500 the Huns under Toramana once more invaded northern India which was now ruled by feuding members of the Gupta royal family. A large part of the Gupta Empire was annexed by Toramana. Sindh and Malwa (in western India) were part of the Hun Empire by AD 510.

Sung-Yun

The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Sung-Yun was sent by his empress to find Buddhist writings in AD 518. He described the Hun rulers of Bactria in their woollen clothes with fur collars. The women of the ruling class, according to Sung-Yun, wore headdresses with great horns, trailing silk veils and rode about in sedan chairs. Sung-Yun condemned the Hun king of Gandhara for loving to worship demons. He said that the majority of Huns did not believe in Buddha although

the common people still respected his law. In Peshawar Sung-Yun observed that Kanishka's stupa had been set on fire by lightning three times. Passing through north-western Afghanistan, he returned to China in AD 521.

Mihirakula

Toramana's son Mihirakula made his capital at Sialkot. He conquered Kashmir and the Ganges Valley. Mihirakula worshipped Shiva and showed his devotion in his coins. In AD 533 an alliance of local rajahs, including Guptas, managed to drive the Huns out of both the Ganges Valley and Malwa. But by AD 550 Gupta power had disappeared and northern India was once more a region of small independent kingdoms, while the Pakistan area continued under Hun rule.

The Huns Decline

Lae-lih, Toramana and Mihirakula were probably vassals of the Hun rulers in eastern Afghanistan. But around the time of Mihirakula's death in AD 550 the Hun Empire seems to have split up. Ghazni was one kingdom, Gandhara was another, and Sindh with Multan formed a third Hun state. Meanwhile a new people called Turks had become important in Central Asia. The Turks made an alliance with the Sassanian emperor of Iran to fight together against the Huns. By AD 575 Hun power had been destroyed in Central Asia, although they continued to rule much of Pakistan area and Kashmir.

Hiuen Tsang

When Hiuen Tsang was twenty years old he decided to travel westwards from China looking for Buddhist wise men who could answer his questions. First he visited Kapisa in Afghanistan. Although Hiuen Tsang does not say so, the ruler there must have been a Turk or a Hun vassal of the Turks. According to Hiuen Tsang he ruled the area west of the Indus and had a silver image of the Buddha cast each year. In the Kapisa area the young Chinese monk found a hundred monasteries devoted to the Greater Vehicle. But he also found ten Hindu temples and hundreds of Hindu holy men.

As he moved south, life in the once great Buddhist cities was

much quieter than he had expected. In Peshawar, the capital city of the mighty Kanishka, he could find no traces of the Kushan royal family. The towns and villages of the area were deserted and few believed in the true law of Buddha. Kanishka's famous stupa was a ruin of ashes and there were very few monks to look after it. At Pushkalavati he again found both Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples.

The many hundreds of monasteries in Swat were mostly in ruins, unlike the Hindu temples of the area. Some of the Buddhist monks were attempting to practise magic and to chase out demons while most had moved to more prosperous sites in Gilgit, Baltistan and Central Asia. Hiuen Tsang, who was fond of reporting evil spirits and dragons everywhere, imagined that a very large number of them resided in the Indus River. This was because the crossing at Hund (then called Udabhandapur—city of Waterpots) was still very dangerous.

At Taxila there were again no traces of the old Kushan rulers. Petty nobles fought each other for local power, while the area as a whole, according to the Chinese pilgrim, was ruled from Kashmir. The people of the Taxila area were still Buddhists and their priests followed the Greater Vehicle. But the rulers of Kashmir were said to hate Buddhism since they had been overthrown by Buddhist priests several times.

Most of the population of Multan offered sacrifices to the spirits, although there were also a few Buddhists, some Hindu temples, and of course the temple of the sun. Bannu, which was subject to Kapisa, contained both Buddhists and Hindu temples.

Sindh

Travelling south along the Indus, Hiuen Tsang found a Buddhist ruler of Sindh, whose Buddhist subjects along with their priests followed the Lesser Vehicle, although here too there were Hindu temples. This ruler was probably a prince of the Rai dynasty, which managed for a time to be independent of both the Huns and Iran. Soon, however, an army was sent by the Satrap of Seistan which defeated and killed Rai Sehra and brought Sindh once more under Iranian control.

The Huns in the Pakistan Area

The Huns have a bad reputation. They are blamed for wiping out culture and Buddhism in the region. It is true that the Huns did not embrace the Gandhara Culture with the same enthusiasm as the Kushans before them. But there were important reasons for this. The Kushans were originally a rough nomadic people much like the Huns — in fact according to Chinese records the two peoples were related. The Kushans, however, had the good fortune to be pushed into Bactria at a time when both the silk route and the Greek economic and cultural life planted by Alexander were still thriving. The Kushans were able therefore to become prosperous and civilized before descending upon the subcontinent. The Huns on the other hand had the misfortune to arrive in Central Asia when trade had already declined, and when fire-worship was reviving under Sassanian domination.

The Decline of Gandhara Culture

In the Pakistan area the Buddhist religion continued to live on in the hearts of the villagers. But Buddhist art and culture depended on the devotion and taxation of wealthy merchants and master craftsmen. By the time of the Huns' arrival no one could afford to maintain hundreds of stupas and monasteries or support thousands of monks. So the centre of Buddhist culture began to shift to more prosperous areas—east to Bengal and south-east Asia and north towards China.

The decline of the Gandhara Culture must first be blamed on the Greek navigators who discovered the monsoon winds for their Roman masters. After this most of the western trade, its accompanying prosperity and many merchants all moved south to the coasts of peninsular India. Secondly, it was the Sassanian Empire which broke the power of the Kushans before the Huns arrived.

Revival of Hinduism and Fire-worship

Zoroaster lived in Central Asia at approximately the same time as Buddha was living in the subcontinent. Under the Kushans Buddhism replaced Zoroastrianism in Central Asia. But Zoroastrianism (now reduced to little more than fire-worship) revived in Central Asia under

the Sassanians. And Hinduism had been reviving in northern India ever since the fall of the Mauryan Empire in 185 BC. Modern Hinduism evolved and became popular under the Guptas. It was the decline of the urban economy and the revival of these two religions, fire-worship in the west and Hinduism in the east, which led to the slow decline of Buddhism in the area.

Barbarian Invaders

The international trade of this region finally came to an end with the decline of the Roman, Han, Kushan, and Gupta Empires. In this decline the Huns, along with many other tribal groups, played a part. But we must remember that all through history and all over the world barbarian invaders have swept away tired old societies and settled down to build vigorous new ones. This has happened over and over again in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East as well as in the subcontinent.

10

The Land on the Eve of Islam

Hiuen Tsang

Hiuen Tsang continued his travels through India. The north-western subcontinent was full of small kingdoms: he counted at least twenty-three between Peshawar and Kanauj. Finally he reached the University of Nalanda in Bihar where Buddhist learning was at its peak. Here he studied and taught and collected Buddhist scriptures to his heart's content. He also continued to tour this part of the world. Hiuen Tsang visited the Chalukya Kingdom of the western Deccan which was then ruled by its greatest king Pulakesin II (AD 609-642). Pulakesin had defeated the Pallava Kingdom of the eastern Deccan and taken over its northern territories. Hiuen Tsang was on his way to visit Assam when he was summoned by King Harsha to participate in religious discussions.

Harsha (AD 607-647)

Harsha was the younger son of a small ruler in East Punjab. His sister was married to the ruler of Kanauj. Before Harsha was sixteen years old, his father had died of illness, his elder brother had been murdered by another king and his sister's husband had been defeated and killed in battle. Harsha decided to build a large strong kingdom which would be safe from the constant warfare of his times. For six years, in the words of his friend and court historian Bana, 'the elephants never quitted their harness, nor the soldiers their armour'. By the end of this time he had subdued much of northern India. Like the Guptas, however, he was never able to extend his empire into the prosperous Indian peninsula. His attempt was defeated by the great Chalukya king, Pulakesin II.

Harsha worshipped Shiva, but he and his younger sister both took

an active interest in literature, philosophy and Buddhism. Like Ashoka before him, Harsha held a great religious conference. It was here that Hiuen Tsang read out his book defending the Greater Vehicle or Mahayana Buddhism as the true religion. Here at last was a king who could impress the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim. They became friends and Hiuen Tsang proposed the opening of diplomatic relations with the T'ang Empire of China.

King Harsha saw to it that the pilgrim was royally equipped for the trip home. Hiuen Tsang was provided with an elephant, an escort and many presents. Merchants attached themselves to his big caravan for safety as there were many bandits preying upon travellers in those days. The only mishap on his return journey occurred when a storm arose during the crossing of the River Indus at Hund. The pilgrim was safe on board his elephant, but fifty manuscripts and all of his flower seeds were swept into the river and lost. After waiting for new copies, Hiuen Tsang proceeded on to China. He had spent over fifteen years outside his country and had travelled over 10,000 miles.

Hiuen Tsang was received by the emperor and spent the rest of his life as a highly respected Buddhist scholar. He had set out as a young man looking for a wise man who could answer his questions, but during his long stay in the subcontinent he himself had become a wise man and a great Buddhist teacher.

After Harsha

Around AD 641 ambassadors were exchanged between China and the kingdom of Harsha. Three more missions were sent from China in AD 643, 646 and 647. But the last group of Chinese visitors found unrest in the country. King Harsha was dead and there was no one to succeed him. Northern India once more broke up into small kingdoms. China continued to have close relations, however, with the small mountain kingdoms of the Karakorams and Himalayas.

Medieval Age

Harsha's empire marked the border in time between the Classical and Medieval Ages in the northern subcontinent. Harsha, like the Guptas, wanted to build a large strong empire modelled on the Mauryan one of long ago. But times had changed. Local rulers were now too strong to be completely subdued. In spite of his tireless efforts, Harsha

could not build a centralized administration. The defeated local rajas sent tribute and armed forces to Harsha, but they ruled their own areas much as they pleased.

The reason for the strength of the small local rulers and the weakness of the emperor lay in the economy. The old classical empires were based on the wealth of their cities. Now, with international trade at a standstill, wealth had to come from the land. The Guptas, Harsha and the other rulers of the northern subcontinent supported their governments by taxing the peasants. They collected one sixth of each village's crop. Some of the harvest was sold in the cities. The rest was used to feed the courtiers, soldiers, and war and transport animals. But the rulers were always short of cash. Since they could not afford to pay cash salaries to their officials or give cash allowances to the Buddhist and Hindu priests, the rulers began to give out grants of land instead.

The Buddhist monasteries, which were among the first recipients of land grants, rented out plots for one sixth of the crop. Sometimes the land given in grants already had villagers farming it. The officials or priests were not supposed to throw these people off the lands but could take up to one third of their crop to support themselves. By AD 650 only military officers received cash salaries. The other government officials received land grants. Once an official had possession of a certain territory and control over its inhabitants it was difficult to curtail his power.

Feudalism

This system, based on shares of the crop, is called feudalism. When we think of feudalism we usually think of mighty castles and knights in shining armour who rescue maidens in distress. Of course feudalism in the subcontinent was not exactly the same as feudalism in Europe. But the people who most resembled knights and their ladies were the Rajputs. The sturdy 'yeoman' peasantry of Europe found its parallel in the Jats.

Rajputs and Jats

The end of the Hun period saw the migration of large numbers of people through the Pakistan area and into northern India. Some called themselves Huns; many called themselves Gujars. In AD 600 Sindh

was conquered by the Gujars but most of these tribesmen passed through Sindh and arrived in the areas now called Gujarat and Rajasthan in India. These groups, along with the Sakas and Parthians who had arrived much earlier, settled down and became good Hindus.

The tribal chiefs' families became the feudal nobility and called themselves Rajputs. The ordinary tribesmen mixed with the original peasantry. The Brahmins, who had once before gained popularity for Hinduism by accommodating themselves to earlier groups of foreign immigrants and to local tribesmen, now made one last compromise. They accommodated the Rajputs in the Hindu caste system by giving them Kshatriya (warrior) status. The other groups of newcomers were assigned to the Vaishya or Shudra castes.

The Jats were the largest peasant caste, but there were also Gujars, Ahirs and others. In the region, especially Punjab and Sindh, the Lohana Jats were important. The Rajputs were concentrated in Gujarat and Rajasthan but they had many old connections with Sindh. Suhandi, a famous queen of Sindh, had a Rajput husband, and old Rajput ballads refer to the chiefs' relations in Sindh.

The Rajput chiefs built their castles on defensible hilltops or cliffs. Here they lived with their families, soldiers and slaves. They listened to ballads sung by their bards and were always ready to defend the honour of their women. The Rajput women for that matter were quite prepared to defend their own honour. They often rode out hunting with their husbands, and sometimes accompanied them into battle. But if their king was defeated, all the women of the castle burnt themselves to death in order to avoid capture by the enemy. Rajput children were brought up to admire bravery and honour above all else, and they learned to ride and fight at an early age. The slightest insult was regarded as an attack on a chief's honour and was sufficient grounds for war.

After Harsha's death, Rajput chiefs became kings of many of the small kingdoms of northern India. The most powerful of the Rajput chiefs were the Pratiharas. They eventually ruled much of northern India including part of the Punjab.

Punjab

Many migrants into the Punjab settled down as Jats, Ahirs and others to farm in the small principalities which were no longer tribal but feudal. The Persian water wheel, which is still very much in use

today to lift water by bullock or camel power for irrigating fields, was just becoming common at that time. The peasants gave the well owner a share of the crop in return for use of the well. The villages of the Punjab also offered a share of their crop to various craftsmen (blacksmiths, potters, leatherworkers and washermen) to encourage them to settle and work in their villages. The carpenter, who was the most necessary craftsman, was offered a plot of land as well. The craftsmen, who were regarded as Shudras, kept indentured (indebted) labourers to help them. There were no shops or shopkeepers in the villages. In the less fertile areas of the Punjab, Gujars, continued to be tribal nomads tending their herds.

Brahmin Officials, Chach and Sindh

Most of the officials in the courts of the Rajputs and other rulers of the north-western subcontinent were either Brahmins or Buddhist priests, since it was they who had the most learning. Sometime after AD 622 Queen Suhandi of the Rai Dynasty of Sindh was overthrown by her Brahmin minister Chach. Chach conquered Multan where he installed a Rajput lieutenant to keep order. He went on to establish a large and powerful kingdom covering Sindh and much of the Punjab. This new Brahmin dynasty was independent of the weakening Sassanian Empire of Persia.

But Chach was not popular with the people. In his Brahmin arrogance he disarmed and degraded the Jats and the Meds (another people who had recently migrated to Sindh). According to the *Chachnamah,* a history of this period written down later by the Arabs, the Jats and Meds were not allowed to wear silk or satins, shoes or turbans. Neither were they permitted to use saddles on their horses. And they were expected to remain wood-cutters and caravan guides throughout their lives without attempting to better their lots.

Chach's attitudes, which he held even though his own wife was a Lodhani princess, reflected the views of Brahmins throughout the northern subcontinent. The caste system continued to become more and more rigid, and the women, lower castes and outcastes were more and more oppressed. The custom of becoming Sati or virtuous by throwing oneself on the dead husband's funeral pyre was now becoming common among Hindu widows. Upper caste Hindus were much afraid of losing their purity by coming into contact with lower caste Hindus, outcastes or foreigners.

The Brahmins encouraged this fear and used it to further undermine the position of their rivals the merchants. Overseas trade was declared sinful for Hindus. The Indus River eventually became the western border beyond which a good Hindu would become impure by mixing with foreigners.

North West Frontier

At this time, however, the Brahmins were still very influential west of the Indus River. It seems that the Central Asian rulers in Kabul were also overthrown by their Brahmin officials who established the Hindu Shahi Dynasty. The population of the NWFP area at that time included the Kohistanis and the Ormuri-speaking people who now form the Afridis, Orakzais and Khattaks. Gujars had settled north-east of Peshawar. Hiuen Tsang had described the people of the Peshawar plain as timid, soft, literature loving Hindus who had constructed large-scale irrigation works and had greatly increased the productivity of the area. Fruit, flowers and sugarcane were grown there. The Hindu Shahi Kingdom probably consisted of a network of small feudal principalities in the fertile plains and valleys, while the pastoral people of the hills and more barren areas carried on their tribal organization.

The Brahmin rulers and their subjects were soon threatened by new migrants from the West. These were the Afghan tribes which had formed in the Suleiman Range of southern Afghanistan and northern Balochistan. Now they were finding that these lands could no longer support their increasing numbers. The tribesmen were particularly attracted to the productive Peshawar plain. Soon they were dominating the plains and spreading into the Swat valley as well.

The Arabs

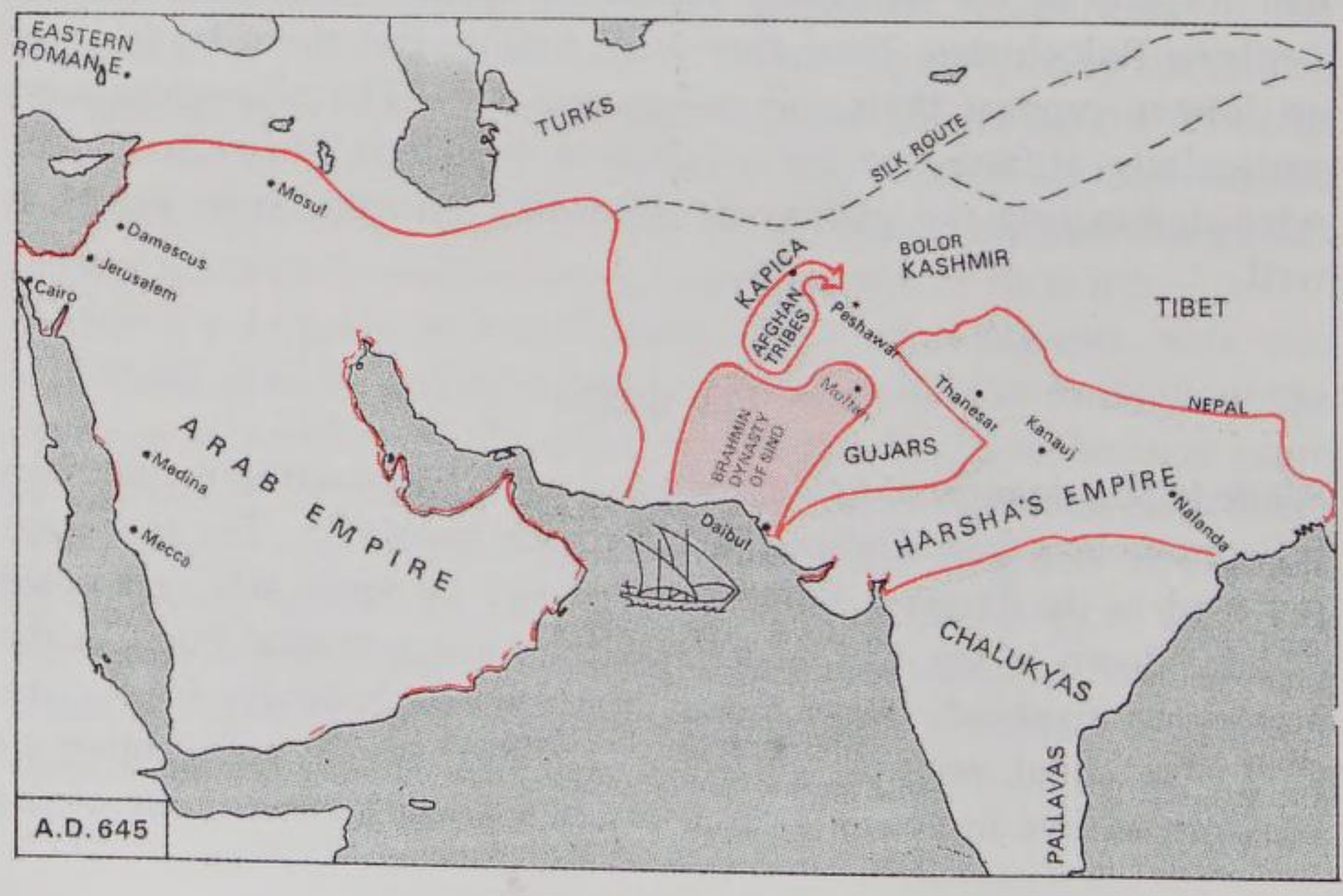
While Hindu-dominated feudalism was establishing itself in the northern subcontinent, a new civilization was born in Arabia. The teachings revealed to the Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him), collected and set down in the Koran, formed the most powerful book in the history of mankind. Islam taught that all true believers in the one God were equal, regardless of race or status. It also called upon all Muslims to live in peace with each other. During the lifetime of the

Prophet Mohammed (Peace be upon him), the people of Arabia accepted Islam. Under its influence they ceased their tribal warfare and began to forge themselves into a nation. Soon after the Prophet's death in AD 632 (Peace be upon him), Syria and Iraq were conquered and the capital of the Caliphate was set up in Damascus.

Now the conquest of the Arab Empire began. By AD 650 Egypt and Persia had succumbed to the tidal wave of Islam and the Arab conquests had advanced as far as Balochistan and Afghanistan. In AD 677 the Arabs reached Kabul and raided the subcontinent for the first time, advancing as far as Multan. After this Kabul and the Peshawar plain were raided several times by the Arabs. Bannu was raided once. The Arabs were always repulsed, but occasionally the non-Muslim local rulers had to give tribute or even recognize the suzerainty of the Arabs. In AD 690 Kabul came nominally under Arab rule. To the south, the Brahmin Dynasty of Sindh came up against the Arabs when it tried to expand westwards into the Makran. Chach's policy of attempted expansion into Arab held Balochistan was continued by his equally unpopular son Raja Dahir.

The Land

We now have a fairly clear picture of the land before the Islamic conquest. Most of the older inhabitants were Buddhists; some were Hindus. The peasants and craftsmen worked peacefully in their villages.



They were increasing the productivity of their lands by constructing canals (in Sindh, the North West Frontier and Balochistan) and using Persian wheels (especially in the Punjab). They turned over approximately one sixth of their crop either to the local ruler, or to whichever Buddhist monastery, government official or Hindu priest had been granted their land. The peasants also gave a small share of their crop, in return for services, to the village craftsmen.

There were few important towns in northern Pakistan area at this time. Most of the officials, priests and craftsmen had moved to the villages. In Sindh there were still several towns noted for their craftsmanship. In Alor (modern Rohri), sculptors made lifelike marble statues. But silk production had declined and many traders had migrated to peninsular India and south-east Asia. The rulers were often newcomers from Central Asia who depended upon Hindu priests to give them advice and invent for them respectable ancient family histories. Sometimes the rulers were themselves overthrown by their Brahmin advisers. On the less fertile lands were more newcomers: tribal nomads tending their flocks and herds. Still more tribal people were migrating into the Frontier area from the Suleiman Range.

Northern India

To the east was Rajput ruled northern India. Here Buddhism, which had originally gained its popularity by challenging the caste system, had become respectable but ineffective. The Buddhist monks were rich and esteemed, but Hinduism was dominant. In the cause of idol worship, images of the various gods and goddesses were being mass produced, leading to the deterioration of art forms. Science had also declined, and Buddhist as well as Hindu education now consisted mainly of memorization rather than real learning. People's outlook had become narrow and prejudiced. The caste system had become extremely rigid. The upper castes were terrified of losing their purity and the women, lower castes and untouchables were much oppressed. Wars were waged incessantly over small bits of land, and few people travelled far from home or knew anything about the outside world.

Islam

To the West was the new Islamic civilization, growing and spreading at a tremendous rate. Soon Arab traders were taking the place of

the now stay-at-home Hindus on the Arabian Sea. Some of the Muslim traders settled in the port towns and brought news of their new religion, free of caste and narrow-mindedness. Arab missionaries and newly converted Muslims also began to arrive overland from the west with their message of the one true God. Pakistan was poised at the beginning of an exciting new age.

Conclusion

In this section we have watched the march of events in pre-Islamic Pakistan. We have seen the rise and fall of great civilizations and the development and spread of important religions. We have witnessed the arrival of many newcomers upon the scene; they have all contributed and continue to contribute to the wealthy heritage of the people of Pakistan. We have been blessed with a vast and hospitable country, which has always attracted and welcomed new peoples, new ideas, new cultures and new religions.

But our country was not just the idle recipient of influences form the outside. The Indus Civilization was developed slowly in our land by the early flood-plain farmers. The Aryan tribesmen composed the sacred hymn of the Rig Veda, the foundation of Hinduism, on our Punjabi plains. Gandhara became the holy land and cultural fountainhead of Buddhism, which spread from here to Central Asia and China. The 'second wave of Aryan invaders' mixed with the older population in our borderlands and north-western India to form the two great feudal caste-classes; the Rajputs and the Jats.

Hinduism, born in the Punjab, long served the function of assimilating tribal people into the greater subcontinental culture. The various groups found places in the increasingly complicated caste structure, while their gods were accommodated in the increasingly crowded Hindu pantheon. Buddhism contributed immensely to the cultural development of our region, but was unable to continue its struggle against the caste system, and so lost the basis of its popularity in the subcontinent.

Now a new religion appeared far to the West in Arabia. It preached the oneness of God and the equality of all believers. The Hindu Brahmins had stretched their religion to its limits. The inherently rigid system had no more elasticity with which to deal with any more foreigners or with their religious beliefs. But many of the people of our country and of the subcontinent as a whole were ready to welcome this new religion and its messengers...

TIME CHART
PAKISTAN AREA

to the WEST — to the EAST

3000 B.C.
2500 — Sumeria
2000
1700 — ARYANS migrate from Central Asia to Pakistan area
1000 — hymns of RIG VEDA collected
700
560 — Cyrus the Great
530 — Gandhara eastermost province of PERSIAN EMPIRE
380 — weakened Persians lose hold of outer provinces
327 — ALEXANDER defeats Persia, invades Pakistan area
321 — SELEUCID KINGDOM
305
273 — Chandra Gupta Maurya subdues most of northern subcontinent; Bindusara conquers Deccan
235 — ASHOKA greatest MAURYAN emperor
190
160 — GREEK RULERS from Bactria
140 — Sakas; MENANDER – greatest Indo-Greek king
90 — PARTHIANS in former Seleucid territories
50 B.C. — PARTHIANS: Afghanistan and northern Pakistan area; SAKAS in Sind and Gujerat
A.D. 64 — Kushans conquer Gandhara
128
151 — KANISHKA, greatest KUSHAN emperor, expands to Bay of Bengal
240 — SASSANIANS of Persia extend influence over Kushan principalities
320
350
388 — Shapur III dies; Kushan principalities independent of Sassanians
455 — HUNS migrate from Central Asia conquer Gandhara dominate C'l Asia, annex Sind, Western Gupta area
500
550 — Hun Empire splits into 3
575 — Sassanians and TURKS defeat Huns in Central Asia
600 — Huns rule Pakistan area and Kashmir
650 — Gujers conquer Sind move to Gujerat, Rajisthan
700 — ARABS; Hindu Shahi; Brahmin Dynasty

ROMAN EMPIRE

Buddha
Mahavira
Magadha
Sunga Kingdom
Baluchistan
Sind
Sassanians
Mathura
Chandra Gupta I
Samudra Gupta takes Central India
C.G. Vikramaditya conquers Gujerat
GUPTA power broken resisting Huns
local rajas drive Huns out
HARSHA
Pratiharas
Chalukya
Andhra Kingdom
Pallava Kingdom

Part II
The Muslim Period

11

The Rise of Islam

Around AD 570 a baby boy was born in Arabia who would be the Messenger of Allah to the entire world. The boy was named Muhammad (Peace be upon him). His father Abdullah had died a few months before the baby's birth and his mother Amna died when he was only six years old. The young child was looked after by his grandfather Abdul Muttalib for two years until the grandfather's death. Then his uncle, Abu Talib, a wise and scholarly man, raised the boy like one of his own sons. The young child helped look after the family's sheep and goats. Later he began to accompany his uncle on trading journeys. When he was young man he became a trader, travelling the deserts with camel caravans of merchandise, like many other members of the Quraysh tribe.

Arabia

The Bedouins of central Arabia carried merchandise between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. At oases along their trade routes were numerous towns. Makkah was an important centre along the trade routes of central Arabia. It carried on extensive trade with Syria to the northwest of Arabia which was part of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire. The tribes on the border between Syria and Arabia were also ruled by the Eastern Roman Empire. On the other hand, at the northeast corner of Arabia, Iraq was part of the ancient and wealthy Sassanian Empire of Persia. Although many Arab mercenary soldiers served in the Sassanian and Roman armies, the proud Bedouin tribes of central Arabia maintained their independence and neutrality.

Arab Tribalism

Before the advent of Islam, the Arab Bedouins were pagans. Each

tribe had its own gods, often related to tribal ancestors, force of nature, of the stars (by which the camel herdsmen navigated the trackless desert). These tribal religions were primitive, and the gods were often idols. Social customs and ideas of morality differed a great deal from tribe to tribe. These differences often led to quarrels and even wars between the tribes.

There was no real government either over or within the various tribes or in the towns. An individuals's only protection and security lay in his family. Any person who did not have a strong family or clan to support him was open to all sorts of insults, injury, and exploitation. Thus the position of many unprotected poor people, widows, and orphans in pre-Islamic Arabia was unbearable.

The Quraysh

The Quraysh tribe of Makkah tried to keep the peace among these fiercely independent and warlike tribes. So that camel caravans could travel safely to and from their trade centre of Makkah, the Quraysh arranged many treaties or agreements between tribes. Many of the tribes also observed several sacred months each year. The superstitious tribesmen believed that terrible things would happen if they fought in the Makkah area during these months. Some of the tribes kept their idols at a shrine in Makkah and made pilgrimages to this shrine during the truce months.

The First Revelation

Muhammad (Peace be upon him) soon became known for his intelligence, ability, honesty and good character. One of the merchants whose goods he carried and traded was a wealthy widow named Khadijah. When Khadijah found out what a capable and honest man he was, she proposed not only a business partnership but also marriage. They lived happily for many years and their business prospered. They had two sons (who died in infancy) and four daughters. Muhammad (Peace be upon him) would sometimes retire alone to a cave in the mountains to meditate upon the different religions and the One True God. On one of these occasions, when Muhammad (Peace be upon him) was about forty years old, he heard the voice of the Angel Gabriel telling him that he must be God's Messenger. At first he was afraid but his wife Khadijah encouraged him and believed in

his mission. For the next thirteen years the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) preached to his family, neighbours and tribesmen in his hometown of Makkah. Most of his family and many others were converted to the worship of the One True God. But the Quraysh tribe as a whole wanted to protect the idol worship which attracted many pilgrims to the shrine in Makkah.

The Quraysh tribe made life extremely difficult for Muhammad (Peace be upon him) and his followers, some of whom he advised to flee for safety to the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. The blackest year in the life of the Prophet (Peace be upon him) occurred around AD 619. This Year of Sorrow saw the deaths of both his wise and faithful wife Khadijah and his uncle and protector Abu Talib. His Message, however, had begun to spread. Some Arabs from the town of Yathrib listened eagerly to the new teachings since they had heard prophecies that just such a Messenger of the One True God would appear in their lifetime. These people invited Muhammad (Peace be upon him) and his followers to their town.

The Flight

Muhammad (Peace be upon him) and a few staunch comrades were the last Muslims to remain in Makkah, where the Quraysh tribe had decided to kill him before he could leave and spread his religion elsewhere. But in AD 622 he journeyed safely to Yathrib, which later came to be known as Madinah. This flight or Hijra was the turning point in the history not only of Muhammad (Peace be upon him) and of the Arab people, but also of the whole world, including the subcontinent. That is why the Muslim era begins with this event and the years in the Muslim calendar are numbered AH from the Hijra.

In towns such as the large agricultural oasis of Madinah, which had been settled by several different tribes, the people felt a great need for a strong leader or arbiter who could settle disputes between different groups of people according to some set system of values. Muhammad (Peace be upon him) and the Quranic teachings filled this need.

Muhammad (Peace be upon him) was welcomed to Madinah, therefore, not only as teacher, but also as an arbiter. Quran reciters were sent from Madinah throughout Arabia, spreading the belief in the One True God. The tribes were invited to unite.

Triumph

For the next eight years, the Prophet (Peace be upon him) and his growing body of followers set out to build an Islamic state. They fought many battles. The Quraysh tribe could at first see only the disruptive effect of Islam upon their old system of treaties and truce periods. But later, when the new Arab unity began to be apparent, they added their strength to the emerging Arab nation. Finally, around AD 630 or AH 8, Muahmmad (Peace be upon him) marched triumphantly into Makkah. The population surrendered without resistance, were forgiven for having persecuted the early Muslims, and accepted Islam.

Leaving a governor to rule Makkah, the Prophet returned to his capital city of Madinah where he received representatives of tribes from all over Arabia. Thus he completed his task of converting Arabia to Islam and forging the Arab tribes into a nation. After returning from a final pilgrimage to Makkah in AD 632, the Prophet fell ill and died; may peace be upon him.

Islam

The teachings of Allah had continued to be revealed to Muhammad (Peace be upon him) throughout his life. These revelations were passed on to his followers who memorized them and wrote them down. Soon after the Prophet's death the various teachings were collected and set down in one authentic version. This Holy Quran has been the source of guidance and inspiration for all the Muslims of the world down to this day.

The Quran teaches that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad (Peace be upon him) is His last Prophet. It requires Muslims to pray five times a day facing the Kaaba, and with the community on Fridays and religious festivals. Muslims should also fast from sunrise to sunset during the month of Ramazan, give a share of their wealth, *zakat*, to the poor and go on pilgrimage, Haj, to Makkah at least once in their lifetime, if possible. Most importantly, the Holy Quran insists that man is responsible for building a just and God-fearing society in which all men are brothers and the helpless are cared for, especially widows and orphans. Women should be treated with respect and consideration, business should be carried out honestly and the possession of wealth should never be used to take advantage of those who are less fortunate.

Abu Bakar and Umar

At the death of the Prophet (Peace be upon him), many of the tribes assumed that Arab unity would again dissolve and refused to send any more tax to Madinah. False prophets also arose, attempting to take over Arab leadership. The family members and close companions of the Prophet (Peace be upon him), along with the other important families of Madinah, Makkah and the nearby town of Taif managed to reunite the tribes under the leadership of Abu Bakr, one of the Prophet's (Peace be upon him) oldest and closest friends and the father of his youngest wife Ayesha. Two years after the death of Muhammad (Peace be upon him), Abu Bakr died, leaving Umar Farooq, another close companion, as his successor.

Expansion

While the tribes of Central Arabia were still being reunited, the Arabs on the borders of Syria and Iraq had also accepted the leadership of the Muslims. The conquest of Syria was soon completed and Egypt was invaded. Iraq was conquered in AD 646. Since Iraq was an important agricultural centre of the Sassanian Empire, and contained its capital city, this conquest led to the collapse of Sassanian power. Therefore, it was possible for much of Persia to be conquered during the Caliphate of Umar Farooq. By the end of Umar Farooq's reign, Arab troops were raiding west into Libya and east towards the Makran coast.

Usman and Ali

After the death of the second Caliph Umar Farooq, jealousies and rivalries unfortunately sprang up among the Arabs. Although the reign of the third caliph Usman saw the completion of the conquest of Persia and the beginning of Muslim seapower in the Mediterranean, it ended with his assassination. The fourth Caliph Ali reigned during a period of civil war or *Fitnah*.

The Umayyads

After this, the Caliphate became hereditary in the Umayyad family of the Quraysh tribe. The Umayyads depended upon Syrian-Arab troops to enforce unity in the empire and moved the capital from

Madinah to Damascus in Syria. The Caliph Muawiyah had eastern Persia (including much of present-day Afghanistan) settled with permanent garrison towns of Arab soldiers. But for some time the final conquest of this area was delayed both by internal dissension among the Arabs and by the unruliness of the local chiefs.

Turkish Khanates

To the north of the old Persian Empire, stretching from the Black Sea to the borders of China, lay the two great Turkish Khanates. These had been founded by two brothers in the sixth century. During the time of the Prophet's (Peace be upon him) childhood, the Turks had broken the power of the Huns in Central Asia. The Turkish rulers had been converted to Buddhism and under Turkish rule, the science, art, and culture of the northwestern Indian subcontinent continued to spread throughout Central Asia.

Silk Routes

For more than a century, however, overland trade along the Silk Routes between China and the West had been disrupted by the movements of the nomadic Hun and Turkish tribes and by the warfare between the Persian and Roman Empires. The north-south Silk Route, between China and the Indian subcontinent, however, passing through the Northern Areas, continued to be very important. Along these difficult mountain trails passed not only trade, but also Buddhist, and later, Hindu culture.

Gandhara

At this time Gandhara (the ancient Buddhist holy land comprising Swat, the Peshawar plain and Taxila), was part of the Kabul kingdom, and was ruled by the Turks. In two years of intense fighting, from AD 663 to 665, Kabul was put under siege by the Arabs. It was bombarded with catapults and subdued two separate times. During this long campaign, Arab forces marched through Bannu, Ahwan and Quetta in order to protect their supply lines in eastern Persia. But after the Kabul ruler had been captured and converted to Islam, the Arabs withdrew.

Soon after the Arab siege of Kabul, the local ruler of Gandhara

killed his former Kabul overlord and installed himself as Kabul Shahi. His brother became ruler of the Ghazni-Kandahar area of southeastern Afghanistan. This Turk Shahi Dynasty continued to rule for almost two hundred years and acted as a buffer zone between the Arab Empire and the rest of the northern Pakistan area. Each Arab governor had to wage war before collecting tribute from either of the two Shahis, and the Arabs' attempts were often unsuccessful.

Yazid I and Abd-al Malik

The reign of Muawiyah's son Yazid I was another tragic period of civil war (the Second *Fitnah*) during which Imam Hussain and his sons and followers were massacred at Karbala. The local rulers in the border areas of the Empire took advantage of this period of unrest to reassert their independence. The Umayyad Caliph Abd-al Malik, with the assistance of his strongest and most capable general, Hajjaj bin Yousuf, reimposed unity over the Arab Empire. Having subdued the rebellious Arabs of Iraq and Iran, Hajjaj bin Yousuf launched a massive campaign in AD 699-700 to bring law and order to the northeastern corner of the Arab Empire. This campaign, led by the great Arab general Qutayba bin Muslim, succeeded in subduing much of Transoxiana, the region between the *Amu Darya* or Oxus, and the *Syr Darya* Rivers. But the Kabul Shahi managed to win a truce which excused him from paying tribute for seven years.

Afghan Tribes

During the period from AD 700 to 1000, Afghan tribes began migrating from their former homeland west of the Sulaiman Range into the Kabul, Peshawar and Swat areas. Muslim historians wrote that the southeastern Afghanistan area had become too heavily populated to support the herds of the Afghan tribesmen. The Kabul Shahi rulers at first tried to repulse the Afghans. But they sometimes managed to use the Afghans against the Arabs. It is said that some villages in Lamghan (between Kabul and Peshawar) were offered to the Afghans, in return for their help in resisting the Arabs, and for this purpose the Afghans built a fort in the Khyber Pass.

Walid I

Walid I (AD 705-15) ruled at the peak of the Umayyad Caliphate. His reign saw the second and last wave of expansion of the Arab Empire. The northeast was further subjugated. The Berbers of northern Africa had been converted to Islam and they helped to conquer Spain for the Arab Empire. In AD 712 Sindh would become the *Bab-ul Islam*: the gateway of Islam to the whole subcontinent.

Arab Expansion

Within one century a collection of nomadic desert tribes had conquered a huge area, including the vast, ancient and wealthy empire of Persia, and a large part of the Eastern Roman Empire. How was this possible? The first reason for the Arabs' success lay, of course, in the new religion of Islam which gave the Arab warriors a cause worthy of the greatest bravery and sacrifice.

The second reason lay in the military heritage of the desert tribes. Young tribesmen were brought up to be warriors. They were used to continual tribal warfare, with constant raids and counter raids on their desert caravans. Once their energies and skills had been redirected into a united struggle by the Prophet (Peace be upon him) and his first successor Abu Bakr, their military might was invincible, even against overwhelmingly superior forces. Credit must be given both to the ordinary tribesmen and to their brilliant leaders.

The third reason for Arab success lay in the weakened state of the ancient empires which surrounded them. The Persian and Roman Empires had just fought a series of exhausting wars. The subjects of these empires were labouring under high taxes and severe religious persecution. In many cases therefore, the populations of the newly conquered lands welcomed the Arabs as deliverers and soon began to enthusiastically accept the Islamic faith.

12

The Advent of Muslims in the Subcontinent

Sindh

Sometime after AD 622 the Brahmin minister Chach had overthrown the ruler of Sindh and expanded that kingdom to include Multan and much of present-day Balochistan. Chach's successor Raja Dahir continued to push the border of Sindh westwards until it met the expanding Arab empire. Constant border skirmishes took place and Raja Dahir gave protection and employment to runaway Arab rebels.

According to later Arab historians, Sindh was a wealthy kingdom and many of the people along the Makran-Sindh coastline were engaged in sea trade. The Meds were a seafaring people who supported themselves by fishing and piracy as well as by trade. Their headquarters were at Daibul, a thriving port on the Indus River Delta. Some historians feel that the ruins at Banbhore, about sixty-four kilometres east of Karachi, mark the ancient site of Daibul. The Meds probably demanded high fees for harbour facilities and for safe passage along the coastline. They seized any ships attempting to avoid payment.

In AD 710 news arrived in the Arab world of the seizure of an Arab ship by the pirates of Daibul. The capture of this ship was particularly enraging to the Arab rulers because it carried not only precious gifts from the King of Ceylon to Caliph Walid I, but more importantly, Arab families who had been returning from Ceylon to Arabia. The ship had been seized, the cargo looted and the men, women and children all imprisoned. The Arab leader of the Ceylon expedition had managed to escape and bring the news of the passengers' plight.

Hajjaj bin Yousuf, who was then governor of the eastern part of the Arab Empire, at first attempted to negotiate a peaceful settlement with Raja Dahir of Sindh. He demanded payment of the seized ships and looted cargoes and the release of the captive men, women and

children. But Raja Dahir insisted that he had no control over the pirates. When negotiations failed, the governor sent two expeditions against Dahir but these were unsuccessful. Now Hajjaj bin Yousuf obtained permission from the Caliph Walid I to launch a major campaign against Sindh. Hajjaj bin Yousuf chose his own young nephew Muhammad bin Qasim to lead the attack.

Muhammad bin Qasim

Muhammad bin Qasim's mother, a cultured and pious widow, had provided her son with the best education, and she herself had undertaken his religious instruction. His uncle, Hajjaj bin Yousuf, taught him the arts of governing and warfare. Muhammad bin Qasim was an intelligent young man and by the age of fifteen he had become one of Hajjaj's most valued assistants. When he was sixteen, and serving under the great general Qutayba bin Muslim, Muhammad bin Qasim had shown his talent for military planning.

The Arab preparations for the invasion of Sindh took six months to complete. Six thousand Syrian horsemen and another six thousand troops mounted on Arabian camels were to be accompanied by three thousand Bactrian baggage camels. More transport facilities were to be provided by the naval part of the expedition. The ships were loaded with supplies and five heavy siege implements; huge stone throwing machines or catapults. An amazingly swift and efficient courier service would keep the governor and his young general in constant communication throughout the campaign. Just before the Arab army set out for Sindh, Muhammad bin Qasim married Hajjaj bin Yousuf's daughter.

Arab Advance

Now the army advanced to the capital of Makran which was taken from its Hindu rulers. After this Armabil (present-day Las Bela of Balochistan) was conquered. Here Muhammad bin Qasim was joined by the Arab troops of the earlier unsuccessful expeditions against Raja Dahir. Then the combined Arab army marched towards the port of Daibul on the Indus River Delta. Meanwhile the naval part of the expedition had sailed from Basra. It took the ships about one month to reach Daibul. With perfect timing and co-ordination both the land and sea forces arrived at Daibul on the same day.

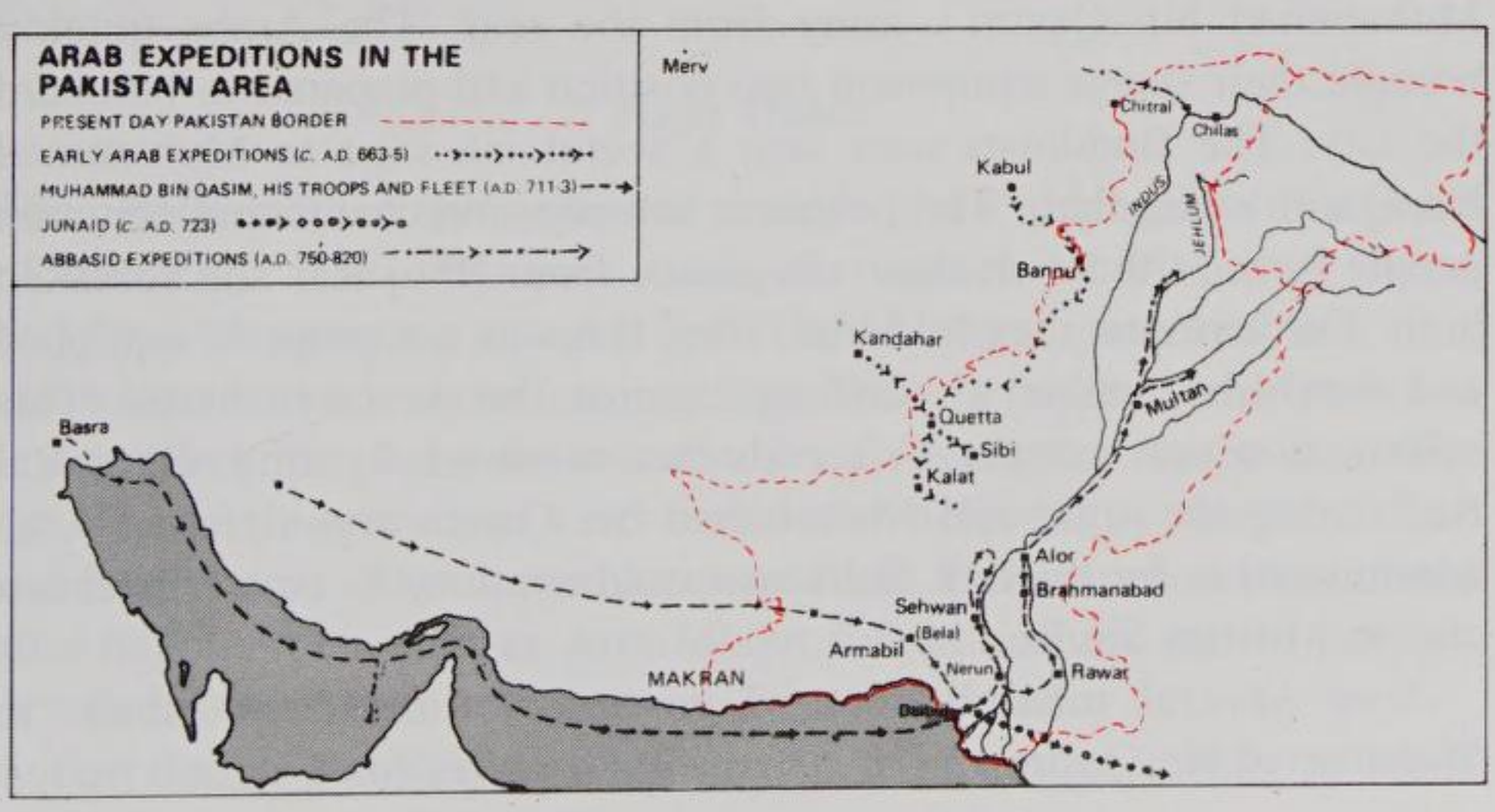
Daibul

Equipment was unloaded and trenches were dug. After some time orders arrived from Hajjaj bin Yousuf to launch the attack. The young general learned that the people of Daibul considered themselves safe in the protection of their gods as long as the flag waved from the peak of their central temple. The largest of the catapults, named *Uroos* or Bride in Arabic, was so huge that it took five hundred men to operate it. Muhammad bin Qasim had the pole of the Bride cut shorter so that its stones would fly directly at the temple flag. The flag was soon brought down and the fortified town was successfully stormed. Its commander fled in the night sending news of Daibul's fall to Raja Dahir. Now Muhammad bin Qasim addressed the residents of Daibul:

> ...all human beings are created by Allah and are equal in His eyes. He is one and without a peer. In my religion only those who are kind to fellow human beings are worthy of respect. Cruelty and oppression are prohibited in our law. We fight only those who are unjust and who are enemies of the truth.

One of of his officers then drew up the following treaty:

> On behalf of the Commander of the Faithful, I, Habib bin Muslim, grant amnesty to all the people of Daibul and hereby ensure their personal safety, security of their temples, women and children and property. So long as you will pay *Jizya* (a tax of protection) we shall abide by this agreement.



The Hindu rulers of Sindh had been cruel and oppressive towards both the Buddhists, who made up a large section of the population, and anyone else whom they regarded as belonging to one of the lower Hindu castes. As in other parts of their empire, the invading Arabs soon gained a reputation for tolerance and generosity. This won for them the support of much of the population.

Nerunkot

The next major city to be subdued was Nerunkot near the site of present-day Hyderabad. The siege equipment was loaded back onto the ships and transported up the Indus River (called the Mehran by the Arabs). The army marched along the river bank for six days and camped outside of Nerunkot. Raja Dahir had ordered his son, Prince Jay Singh, to leave Nerunkot and join him at Brahmanabad. Raja Dahir was probably trying to draw the Arab troops deep into Sindh where he intended to cut them off from their supply lines and destroy them completely. The mainly Buddhist city of Nerunkot was left under the leadership of its Buddhist priest who not only offered submission to Muhammad bin Qasim but also provided the Arab army with badly needed fodder for its horses and camels.

Sehwan

Sehwan was another target. The Buddhist community of Sehwan asked the commander, Bhoj Rai, a cousin of Dahir, to settle peacefully with the Arabs. But Bhoj Rai would not listen and attempted to attack Muhammad bin Qasim's army from the rear. The Arabs quickly brought their sienge equipment into position and prepared to bombard the city. The Buddhists now sent a secret message to Muhammad bin Qasim sying that, 'The peasants, artisans, merchants and common people have withdrawn their allegiance from Bhoj Rai and forsaken him.' Furthermore, they told him, Bhoj Rai was not properly equipped and would be unable to stand up against the Arabs in battle. This information was correct. After another week of fighting, Bhoj Rai fled during the night and Muhammad bin Qasim organized an Arab administration for the city. Sehwan would continue to be an important city in Muslim Sindh.

Now several local rulers and governors hurried to submit to Muhammad bin Qasim and to arrange for supplies for the Arab troops.

Having sent reports of these developments to Hajjaj bin Yousuf, Muhammad bin Qasim soon received advice to give generous treatment to those chiefs who sought his protection, 'Nobody', he was instructed, 'must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. The people may live in their houses in whatever manner they like'.

Another week was spent subduing a fort near present-day Tando Muhammad Khan and one of Muhammad bin Qasim's generals had to reconquer the Sehwan fortress which had been reoccupied by the former Sehwan ruler.

Difficulties

Now came the most difficult part of the Sindh campaign. The son of Raja Dahir, with a large force, prevented the Arab army from crossing the Indus. Here they had to camp for fifty days, while supplies of food and fodder ran out. The horses began to die of disease and the men became weak. Muhammad bin Qasim had the sick horses slaughtered for food, and sent requests to Hajjaj bin Yousuf for reinforcements and supplies. Two thousand horses arrived and also cotton soaked in vinegar, perhaps to treat the soldiers' vitamin deficiency.

Soon the Arab army was able to construct a bridge of boats, cross the Indus and advance across the delta towards Rawar. More local chiefs joined the Arabs against Raja Dahir. After several days of fighting between the Arabs and the massed Hindu forces, Raja Dahir finally came out to face Muhammad bin Qasim in June AD 713 for the decisive battle over Sindh's future.

Raja Dahir

The Brahmin ruler himself was seated on an elephant in the mdist of his army. The elephant's trunk was struck by a burning arrow and its silk covering caught fire. The elephant panicked and fled, throwing fear and confusion into Raja Dahir's forces. Dahir switched to horseback but was soon beheaded by a swordsman. In the meantime the Brahmin's army was surrounded and defeated by the joint Arab and local forces. Rawar was conquered and Brahmanabad surrendered after negotiations. Alor or Aror (about five kilometres east of present-day Rohri) was also besieged until it surrendered.

For several months, the Arab troops tried unsuccessfully to break

through the strong walls of the Multan fort with their catapults. Only when the water channel supplying the fort was discovered and cut off, did the defenders surrender. To ensure the safety of their temple, the Multanis turned over a huge treasure to the Arab conquerors. This helped to pay for the expedition. Muhammad bin Qasim now sent some of his troops towards Kashmiri-held fortresses on the Jhelum River and other troops towards the borders of the kingdom of Kanauj in northern India.

Muhammad bin Qasim Recalled

Soon after the conquest of Multan, however, Caliph Walid I died. The new Caliph unfortunately allowed his new governor in the east to favour one Arab faction over another. Hajjaj bin Yousuf himself had died some six months earlier but his whole family was now persecuted. Because he was Hajjaj's nephew and son-in-law, Muhammad Qasim was recalled and had to cancel his plans for further conquest. He was executed before the policy could be reversed by the following Caliph.

In spite of its young conqueror's tragic and untimely death, Sindh continued as a part of the Arab Empire for two hundred years. Governors were sent out by the central government; the names of thirty seven of them are known. The actual administration of Sindh remained in the hands of the local chiefs, both Muslim and non-Muslim. Local revenue officers collected the land taxes, customs taxes, the *jizya* (tax on non-Muslims) and the *zakat* (tax on Muslims). *Qazis* (Islamic judges) were sent to Sindh to settle disputes among Muslims according to Islamic law, while the Hindus and Buddhists continued to refer their own problems either to their Brahmin priest or to their local *panchayat* (committee). Mosques were built in every city for the use of the Muslims but the temples of the local people were preserved and when necessary rebuilt.

The Buddhist merchants and craftsmen welcomed the tolerant and just rule of the Muslim Arabs. Even the Brahmin priests and other Hindu chiefs were satisifed to find themselves still in positions of respect and local power. Daibul continued to be a busy port, exporting sugar and indigo west to the Arab world and trading as far east as China. Sehwan was another important city in Arab ruled Sindh.

Many Arab administrators, soldiers, traders and religious scholars arrived, married and settled down in Sindh. Sindhi and Arabic culture

interacted to produce a rich cultural mix. Arabic was the official and religious language, while Sindhi was the first language of the East into which the Quran was translated. During this period scholarly works on astronomy, medicine and history were written in the Sindhi language which came to be written in the *naskh* script.

About ten years after Muhammad bin Qasim's conquests, one of Sindh's Arab governors, Junaid, attempted to annex Cutch and Malwa to the east of Sindh. The Pratihara Rajputs of the Rajputana desert, however, defeated him. Another effort to expand Arab power north from Multan into the Punjab was resisted with Kashmiri aid.

Punjab and Kashmir

The Punjab plain below the Salt Range, stretching from the Indus River to the Beas River, was called *Che-ka* by the Chinese and *Takia* or *Takka* by the Arabs. Punjab was now caught between two expanding powers: Arab-ruled Sindh to the south, and the kingdom of Kashmir in the north.

During the reign of Laladitya (AD 724-60), one of Kashmir's greatest kings, Kashmir's armies were able to push the Arab forces out of the Punjab, and to march eastwards into the Ganges Valley. Kashmir at this time had close and friendly relations with China and once asked for Chinese aid in resisting the Arab attacks on the Punjab.

Gandhara and Northern Areas

The Turk Shahi rulers also tried to maintain close relations with the Chinese in the hope of being protected from the Arabs. Ambassadors were sent to China with presents: astronomy texts, secret medical formulas, medicines and drugs, and other products, many of them from the Gandhara area. Before handing over power to his son, the ageing Kabul ruler requested the permission of the Chinese Emperor. Permission was granted along with a new title for the new king of Kabul and Swat: 'Brave General Guarding the Left'.

China and Kashmir were not only worried about the growth of the Arab Empire, they also wanted to check the expansion of Tibet which now controlled much of Nepal, northern India and present-day Bangladesh. Tibet conquered Skardu (east of Gilgit) around AD 726. In AD 747 a Chinese army marched into Southern Chitral to replace the local ruler, who wast friendly with Tibet, with his more

pro-Chinese brother. Nevertheless, Tibet continued to expand westwards until it controlled Gilgit Valley and Upper Chitral.

The Battle of Talas

Ever since the Arab conquest of the Sassanian Empire, trade along the Silk Routes had been reviving and cities like Samarkand, Balkh and Bukhara began to flourish once again. The Turkish rulers of these merchant cities tried to play off the Arabs against the Chinese in an effort to maintain their independence and their control over the Silk Routes. After the death of Hajjaj bin Yousuf in AD 714 there was again unrest in the north-eastern corner of the Arab Empire.

Between AD 744-50 the Arab world was once more engulfed in Civil War. By AD 750 the Umayyad Caliphate had come to an end and the Abbasid Caliphate was established. Soon after this, the Arabs were able to permanently crush China's power in Central Asia in the Battle of Talas (AD 751). Now the border between the two great empires was fixed halfway between their two capitals. The Turks and other peoples of Central Asia came to accept not only Muslim rule, but also the Muslim religion. Turkish fighters were to play an important role in the Arab Empire from this time on. The Gandhara-Swat-Kabul area, however, still remained virtually independent.

The Abbasid Caliphate

The period of the early Abbasid Caliphate was one of great prosperity and relative peace for the now fully expanded Arab Empire. It was a time of tremendous intellectual progress. The city of Baghdad was built on the banks of the Tigris River above the Persian Gulf. Baghdad was a great crossroads of commerce and culture, and at one time may have been the largest city in the world.

The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) had instructed Muslims to seek learning, though it is as far away as China.' Under the Abbasid Caliphs, scholars gathered from all directions, coming even from China. They brought many precious texts with them. Books were translated from Greek, Syrian, Pahlavi Persian and Sanscrit into Arabic.

Many of the works which were being translated from Pahlavi into Arabic, such as some of the tales of Sindbad the Sailor, had arrived earlier from the Pakistan area during the period of Sassanian Persian rule. Similary, the game of chess, which had been brought to Persia

from the subcontinent by the Sassanians, now became popular throughout the Arab Empire.

The Barmakid family originally came from the Punjab where, as Buddhist priests, they had mastered the medical knowledge of the area. Later, having settled in Balkh (on the Afghan-Russian border), the Barmakids were converted to Islam. They eventually became powerful secretaries and advisors to the early Abbasid Caliphs (AD 750-803) and encouraged the transfer of learning, including astronomy and medical science, from the present-day Pakistan area to the Arab world.

One raid against Kashmir by the Abbasid governor of Sindh was considered a great success in the Muslim world because it resulted in the arrival at Baghdad of the famous Kashmiri Sanscrit scholar Mankha. After making a thorough study of Islam, Mankha converted. He remained a devout Muslim for the rest of his life, translating many Sanscrit works into Arabic for the glory of Islam.

Mathematics

But the most important knowledge which the Arabs gained from this area and passed on to the rest of the world was in mathematics. The Arabic Numerals which replaced the clumsy Roman numerals in the West, were based on the numbering system of the Indian subcontinent. These numbers included zero, which had probably been invented many centuries before in the Taxila area. Without the concept and notation of zero, the decimal system and many other developments in mathematics would have been impossible.

Kabul

The death of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid brought temporary confusion to tbe Arab Empire. The governor of Transoxiana rebelled. After the Caliph Al-Mamum had triumphed over his brother, campaigns were launched against the rebellious governor's dangerous allies; the Qarluq Turks, the Kabul Shah and the Tibetan Empire. In AD 817, Ispabadh Shah of Kabul was brought before the Caliph at Merv (in present-day USSR) and converted to Islam. His throne and crown were transported to the Kaaba treasury in Makkah.

In a second expedition, to prevent possible future interference from Tibet, the Muslim army entered Upper Chitral, and penetrated as

far as the Indus River where they planted the black flags of the Abbasid Caliphate. It seems that Ispabadh Shah's successor, Lagaturman, was allowed to rule the Kabul kingdom under supervision, but he was required to send double the normal amount of tribute to the Caliph's governor of Khorasan, the north-eastern section of the Arab Empire.

The Tahirids (AD 189-73)

The Caliph Al-Mamum had successfully restored unity in the Arab Empire with the aid of several very capable generals and their Muslim troops. The most important of these generals was Tahir, a Persian by birth, who continued to put down local rebellions in the eastern half of the empire after Al-Mamum had re-established his capital at Baghdad.

Tahir was so successful in winning the loyalty of his now mostly Persian (rather than Arab) Muslim troops that his family became a dynasty in its own right, ruling over the north-eastern section of the empire (Khorasan), but always expressing loyalty to the Caliphate. In northern Africa the Aghlabid governors also became semi-independent. These were the first hints of the coming disunity in the Arab Empire.

In their attempts to reverse the trend towards disunity in the Arab Empire, the Abbasid Caliphs depended increasingly upon the Caliph's military guard which was made up mainly of Turkish slaves and mercenary officers.

Turkish Mercenaries

Young Turkish boys were often captured and enslaved in the constant raids and warfare among the Turkish tribes along the present day Russian-Afghanistan border. These boys were then either sold or sent as tribute to the Muslim rulers who had them educated and trained as professional soldiers.

Often coming from the ruling families of their tribes, these young men were given a good education and the opportunity to rise to positions of great responsibility if they proved themselves capable. This system produced first-rate military men. Naturally, these Turkish officers began to occupy more and more important positions in the leadership of the previously Arab and Persian-led empire.

13

The Hindu Shahis and Mahmud of Ghazni

The Hindu Shahis

Around AD 843 the Turk Shahi ruler of Kabul was imprisoned by his Brahmin minister Kallar on grounds of having bad manners. Kallar then proceeded to found the new Hindu Shahi Dynasty. Most of the former Turk Shahis had been Buddhists, but Kallar worshipped the Hindu god Shiva and Hinduism was now the dominant religion of the area. The new dynasty continued to control the Kabul Valley, but shifted its capital eastwards to Udabhandapura, a city on the west bank of the Indus River, just north of present-day Attock.

Udabhandapura

Udabhandapura had long been a major crossing point on the Indus River. Now that the Arab Empire was firmly in control of the Central Asian trade routes, overland trade between the Indian subcontinent and the West once again flourished. Udabhandapura was an important trade centre. Perfumes, jewels and textiles from the northern sub-continent arrived here for onward shipment to the Arab world and beyond. An Arab traveller described Udabhandapura as being

> ...a capital city of great glory and bigger than Mansura. Situated on a square plain, it has many gardens clean and attractive. The river (Indus) is full of water. We also get rains. The fruits of both summer and winter seasons are plentifully available. Around the city are the gardens full of walnut, almond, banana and date. The prices are low. Three maunds of honey could be bought in one dirham. Bread and milk are very cheap. Disease spreading insects are absent. But the weather is comparatively humid and hot. The houses are built of timber covered with dry grass. It is therfore open to fire. Short of these dangers it could match with the best cities of Iran.

Although it was a great and prosperous city, Udabhandapura's remains, at the small village of Hund, have not yet been excavated. Since those wooden buildings which escaped fires must have decayed by now, it is unlikely that we will ever be able to reconstruct any of the palaces, homes and shops of Udabhandapura as we have at the earlier cities of Mohenjodaro and Taxila.

Culture and Religion

According to a Hindu Shahi inscription found on a stone slab at Hund, '...learned men forming communities...made their home' at Udabhandapura, so we know that knowledge was being preserved there, although hardly any original scientific works were produced during this period anywhere in the subcontinent. Education consisted almost entirely of memorizing ancient religious texts, and schools were used mainly by Brahmins. In Swat, the Tantric form of Buddhism had developed and had spread to Tibet and Nepal where it remains the religion up to this day.

According to Muslim and Kashmiri historians, the Shahis built great temples and filled them with many very valuable Hindu idols. Many of the idols however, were carried away in Muslim raids. Some of the temples, either built or improved by the Shahis, can still be seen at various places throughout the Salt Range including Nandana, Malot, Siv Ganga and Ketas. There are also ruins of several temples in each of the two Kafir Kot forts on the west bank of the Indus between the Gomal and Kurram Rivers.

Fortresses

There are ruins of many old fortresses in the hills of Swat: at the Malakand Pass at Swat's southern entrance, on the range between Swat and Dir, and especially in the hills around the small plain of Chakdara. This is where the ancient trade route between Central Asia and China crossed the Swat River. From the Hindu Shahi coins found at these sites we know that these forts were used by the Hindu Shahi rulers to guard and tax the commerce of this area. The two Kafir Kot forts are thought to have guarded the trade routes from the West. Several more forts can be found in the Salt Range (at Amb near Sukesar, Kalar near Makhad and especially at Nadana).

Coins

Hindu Shahi coins have been found all over the subcontinent, throughout Central Asia, and as far west as Eastern Europe. This shows the importance of the Hindu Shahi kingdom in the international trade of that period. Many of these coins have a bull engraved on one side and a mounted horseman, carrying a lance or banner, on the other. Hindu Shahi currency was so widespread and acceptable that even the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad had the bull and horseman design copied on a coin issued in AD 908.

Yaqub the Coppersmith

Meanwhile in Sistan, on the eastern edge of Persia, a Muslim coppersmith named Yaqub bin Laith had become a popular hero by leading local military forces against robber bands. Soon he controlled all of Sistan. After trying unsuccessfully to subdue Yaqub, the Tahirid governor granted him authority to rule eastern Persia and Afghanistan. Saffar means coppersmith, so his territories were called the Saffarid Emirate.

In AD 870-1, the Hindu Shahi ruler of Kabul was defeated by the Muslim Persian, Yaqub. Some of the loot from this campaign was sent by Yaqub to the Caliph in Baghdad. The elephants and the gold and silver idols from the Gandhara area excited great wonder in the city of Baghdad. For the next decade, the Hindu Shahi Kingdom was ruled by a governor appointed by Yaqub. The Saffarid Emirate now included all of Persia, and Yaqub had been given authority to rule Sindh as well.

After Yaqub's success in subduing the eastern Muslim territories, his ambitions knew no bounds. By AD 876 Yaqub was even threatening the Baghdad Caliphate which was already busy putting down a slave revolt in the Basra area. He was defeated outside Baghdad.

By AD 903 the Saffarid descendants of Yaqub had been pushed back to their home area of Sistan.

Pakistan Area Independent Again

Having been cut off from Baghdad by the Saffarid territories, the now independent Arab centres of Sindh and Makran evolved into small Muslim kingdoms. The most important of these were at Mansurah

and Multan. The Hebadi Dynasty of Multan was famous for its love of knowledge and its respect for men of learning. The ruins of Mansurah, about eleven kilometres southeast of Shahdadpur, show the grandeur of city life during this period.

The Kabul Valley was also once again independent of Muslim rule by AD 900. The main threat to the Hindu Shahi rule, and the dominant power in the area, was now Kashmir. An alliance between the Hindu Shahis, the Punjabis and the Gurjura-Pratihara rulers of northern India was unsuccessful in containing Kashmiri expansion. In spite of this opposition Kashmir annexed the whole of Takkadesha (the Punjab plain) and even took part of East Punjab from the Gurjura-Pratihara Rajputs who were then at the peak of their power.

In AD 902, the king of Kashmir set out to punish the Hindu Shahi ruler Lalliya for his attempted interference with Kashmir's expansion. But the Kashmiri ruler himself was killed by an assassin's arrow in Hazara. It was his successor who, at great expense, vanquished the Shahi kingdom at Udabhandapura. 'He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Shahi upon Toramana, Lalliya's son', according to the famous history of Kashmir *The River of Kings,* written by Kalhana in the eleventh century. After this the Hindu Shahi and Kashmiri rulers got along very well and many marriages took place between the ruling families.

Because of improved irrigation methods in the Kashmiri hillsides, agricultural production there increased and the Kashmiris withdrew from the Punjab plains. Thus Takkadesh was once more an independent and prosperous kingdom of populous cities, according to Muslim travellers of the time.

The Samanids and the Turks

It was the Samanids (a group of Persian noblemen and landlords), who pushed the Saffarids back into their home territory of Sistan and obtained the Caliph's permission to rule the eastern Muslim territories (Persia, Afghanistan etc.). The period of Samanid rule (AD 903-99) was one of peace, prosperity and cultural activity in Central Asia. Both trade and agriculture flourished.

At this time all the different Muslim Emirates were trying to imitate the great cultural flowering of Baghdad and the Samanids encouraged scholars to come and work at Bukhara. The modern form of Persian, with its Arabic script, was now developed, and many books were

written. Medical works again drew on the knowledge of Hind (the land of the Indus River) as well as of Greece and Baghdad.

But the Samanids, even more than the Caliphs in Baghdad, depended for military strength upon an unending supply of talented Turkish slaves and mercenary soldiers. In AD 962 the Turk Alptigin, former slave and Commander of the Guard in the Samanid Emirate, quarrelled with his master, the Samanid Emir, and marched eastwards.

Alptigin

Alptigin defeated the pro-Kabul Lawick kings who had been ruling the Ghazni area since the downfall of the Saffarids. According to at least one account, Alptigin had come eastwards with the intention of waging war in Hind, which by now was legendary for its wealth. Therefore, many volunteers gathered around him.

Alptigin's death soon afterwards, however, led to a period of confusion. His successors, with the help of the Samanids, struggled for control of the Ghazni area against the Lawicks, who were aided by the Hindu Shahis of Kabul. Continuing quarrels over leadership among the Turks also helped to delay re-establishment of Muslim rule in the area.

Subuktagin

Several major battles took place in the Ghazni area. At the battle of Charkh, around AD 977, the Muslims were outnumbered by Hindu troops, but Subuktagin, a former slave and son-in-law of Alptigin, used his Turkish cavalry to defeat the Hindus. Now Subuktagin was raised to the throne of Ghazni by the unanimous decision of the Turkish officers. After extending his territories westwards and southwards (to include Kalat in present-day Balochistan), Subuktagin began to raid the Hindu Shahi Kingdom.

Jayapala

Jayapala was the most famous of the Hindu Shahi kings. He ruled at the peak of Hindu Shahi power and committed suicide after its fall. Under Jayapala, the Hindu Shahi kingdom extended from west of Kabul to east of the present-day Pakistan-Indian border, and from the valleys of Bajaur, Buner and Southern Kashmir in the north to the borders of Arab ruled Multan in the south.

Jayapala decided to drive the Turks away from his western borders. He collected a huge force and proceeded towards Ghazni. The Hindu and Muslim armies were of equal strengths and the battle wore on for several days with neither side gaining the upper hand. Then

> Instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around; in so much that a great part of the cattle was killed, and some thousands of soldiers of both armies perished.

It seems that the hardy Turks were better able to withstand the wintry weather than the Shahi forces; Jayapala sued for peace. Subuktagin's son Prince Mahmud, who was fourteen or fifteen years old at the time, advised his father to continue fighting until the enemy was totally defeated. But Subuktagin was afraid that the Hindu rajas might burn themselves to death with all their valuables, so he accepted Jayapala's promise to hand over one million Shahi dirhams, fifty war elephants and a number of Hindu Shahi frontier fortresses.

Jayapala however, having been allowed to withdraw, broke all of his promises and imprisoned the Turkish officers who had been accompanying him. This of course enraged Subuktagin who marched through the Lamghan area pulling down temples and setting fire to houses.

Jayapala, in turn, called upon all of the local chiefs and rajas to help him. He proceeded a second time towards Ghazni at the head of a huge force. About nineteen kilometres south of present-day Jalalabad the two armies met. Once more Subuktagin was able to defeat a superior force with his daring use of the Turkish cavalry.

Jayapala and his allies were driven back to the Indus and the Lamghan area was permanently annexed to the Ghaznavid kingdom. Most of the Afghan tribes living between Peshawar and Lamghan now accepted Subuktagin's rule and many Afghan and Khilji tribesmen enrolled in his army.

Jayapala, having lost his territories west of Peshawar, now decided to expand his kingdom eastwards. The Lahore area was first reduced to a dependency, and then annexed to the Hindu Shahi kingdom.

Prince Mahmud

Shortly after this, Subuktagin quarrelled with his son Mahmud and had him imprisoned. The crafty old Shahi ruler, Jayapala, now tried to incite Prince Mahmud to join the Shahis against his father. 'By

throwing you in prison,' Jayapala wrote to the young Mahmud, 'your father has shown his ingratitude to you. If you permit me to do so, I shall send my men to get you out of prison so that you may come to my country, which (as you know) is a vast kingdom. I shall give you my daughter (in marriage) and wealth and armies greater than that of your father.'

Mahmud is said to have replied by calling the Shahi ruler a dog and an infidel. Furthermore he wrote, 'My father is my master and my leader. If he wants to kill me, he is the ruler (and the judge). As to the letter you wrote me, my answer is this: when God gives me release from this confinement I shall bring my army and march on your country so as to capture you...'

Mahmud of Ghazni (AD 998-1030)

Subuktagin died in AD 997. After a short struggle, Mahmud established himself on the throne of Ghazni and brought Khorasan under control. He cut all connections with the Samanids, who by this time had lost control over the Silk Routes, and therefore most of their power and prosperity, to the Ilek Khan Dynasty of Turkestan. Instead, Mahmud considered himself a faithful servant of the the Abbasid Caliph. Throughout his career he was primarily interested in controlling Central Asia and its trade routes.

His invasions of the subcontinent had two purposes: waging *jehad* or holy war against non-Muslims; and providing finance and supplies for his army, and treasure and craftsmen for building his great capital of Ghazni. It is said that Mahmud decided to undertake one expedition every year against Hind. Mahmud began his raids in September, AD 1000, by capturing several Hindu Shahi fortresses.

Peshawar

The following year (September AD 1001) Mahmud's army marched to Peshawar. In AD 1971, when the foundations were being dug for the Hotel Intercontinental in Peshawar Cantonment, many elephant and human skeletons were discovered. This may have been the historic battlefield where the Hindu Shahis were defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni. Jayapala, his family and other chiefs were captured during this battle. Countless men and women were enslaved and an amazing amount of loot was taken from the Hindu Shahi camp.

Encouraged by his victory at Peshawar, Mahmud advanced to the Hindu Shahi capital of Udabhandapura. This city was also defeated. The Shahi troops fled to their hill fortresses pursued by the Ghaznavid army. Jayapala was able to buy his freedom and that of his family members with a huge ransom in currency and elephants, and was allowed to return to Udabhandapura. Jayapala then had a funeral pyre constructed outside the city wall. The great but humiliated Hindu raja surrendered himself to the flames.

The Hindu Shahis had now lost all of their territories west of the Indus. The Peshawar plain was annexed to the Ghaznavid kingdom, and the Afghan tribesmen in the Bannu area were soon subdued. Swat, Dir and Bajaur, cut off from the eastern Hindu Shahi territories, succumbed quickly to Mahmud's army.

Two thousand feet above the plain at Udegram in Swat stands a massive ruined fort. The grand staircase leading up to the fort was built by Raja Gira, the last Hindu defender of Swat, who was defeated after a long siege. According to local tradition, Mahmud's commander Khushal Khan died during this siege and is buried where the shrine of Pir Khushal Khan Baba still stands in a grove of trees.

After this, the proud name of Gandhara, famous for its crafts and learning since 700 BC passes out of history books. The Hindu Shahis shifted their capital eastwards, probably to Nandana in the Salt Range.

Multan

Now Mahmud of Ghazni decided to march against the Fatimid rulers of Multan. Since AD 985, Multan had recognized the Ismaeli Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt. Being a devout Sunni Muslim and a loyal officer of the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad, Mahmud looked upon the Multani rulers as rebels and heretics. He asked Anandapala (Jayapala's son and successor) for permission to cross the remains of the Hindu Shahi kingdom.

Anandapala refused Mahmud's request. Instead, he formed an alliance with the rulers of Multan and Bhatinda to prevent Mahmud's army from crossing the Indus River. But Mahmud's troops crossed at Udabhandapura and defeated Anandapala's force. Multan fell to Mahmud's army after a siege of seven days.

Now, however, Mahmud heard that the northern part of his kingdom was being invaded by the Ilek Khan Turks. He quickly returned westwards, entrusting the Multan and northern Punjab areas to a Hindu

Shahi prince as governor. When this prince revolted, Muhamud subdued Multan once again and prepared to again invade the Hindu Shahi kingdom.

Anandapala Surrenders

This time Anandapala sent his son Trilocanapala at the head of a huge army to the east bank of the Indus where Mahmud's army was camped on the plain of Chach near present-day Hazro. Here the two armies remained for forty days, neither daring to confront the other's might. Finally Mahmud ordered thousands of archers to shoot their arrows at the Shahi troops. But the archers were soon attacked and scattered by Gakkar tribesment 'with their head and feet bare, and armed with various weapons.'

Then Mahmud's personal guard managed to turn the tide by attacking the rear of the enemy lines. The Hindu Shahis began to flee. The Hindu Shahi troops were pursued to Nagarkot in the Kangra Valley at the far northeastern corner of the Shahi kingdom. The fortress there fell quickly, yielding a fantastic amount of loot which was carried back to Ghazni.

After these decisive defeats, Anandapala sued for peace, promising to send elephants and an annual tribute, and to allow the Muslim armies to pass undisturbed through Hindu Shahi territories. In return, Mahmud promised to leave the Shahis in peace. Law and order was quickly restored and trade between this area and Central Asia once again flourished. The Hindu Shahis made no attempt to interfere with Mahmud's raid on Thanesar in northern India.

Trilocanapala Defeated

But by AD 1013 Anandapala's son Trilocanapala was refusing to send the annual tribute, and Mahmud once more advanced upon the Hindu Shahis. Trilocanapala's son Bhima was put in command of Nandana where he established his defensive position along with the local chiefs. After a fierce battle, Mahmud's troops, with the help of Afghan spearmen, defeated the Shahis and entered the Nandana Fortress.

Meanwhile, the Shahi ruler Trilocanapala had gone to Kashmir to appeal for aid. The Kashmiris responded generously by sending a large force under the command of their prime minister. Nevertheless, the combined Shahi and Kashmiri army was also defeated on the banks of the Tohi, a tributary of the River Jhelum.

The Last of the Hindu Shahis

After Trilocanapala had been assassinated by mutinous Hindu troops, his son Bhima ruled for some five years over the tiny remnants of what had once been the mighty Hindu Shahi Kingdom. But by AD 1021 Punjab was the easternmost province of the Ghaznavid Empire.

For almost two centuries the Hindu Shahis had struggled to push back the unstoppable tide of Muslim conquest. But even while doing so, they had taken advantage of the Arab imposed order on the Central Asian trade routes to reactivate trade in the northern Pakistan area.

Muslim and Jewish traders as well as Hindus had settled in Kabul and Udabhandapura and had usually managed to carry on their businesses. The prosperity and stability of the Hindu Shahi economy was so well known that their famous 'Bull and Horseman' coins continued to be copied all over the subcontinent for many years.

Between AD 1000 and 1026 Mahmud had attacked the Hindu Shahi Kingdom a dozen times. He had finally reduced it to a mere shadow of its former self. But the Hindu Shahi rulers had won the admiration of their Muslim conquerors. In the words of Al Beruni, the greatest Muslim scholar of that time:

> We must say that in all their grandeur they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right; and that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.

Northern India

While still bringing the Indus basin under control, Mahmud of Ghazni had been urging his raiders even further eastwards. He attacked the wealthiest cities of northern India: Thanesar, Mathura, and Kanauj.

Mahmud marched on Kanauj in northern India and defeated its Pratihara Rajput ruler in AD 1018. When the Ghaznavid army had as usual returned to the capital of Ghazni, another Rajput, the Chandella king of Kalinjar, accused the defeated Pratihara of cowardice in surrendering to the Muslims. He killed the Pratihara and formed an alliance among the Hindu rulers to resist any further Ghaznavid invasions.

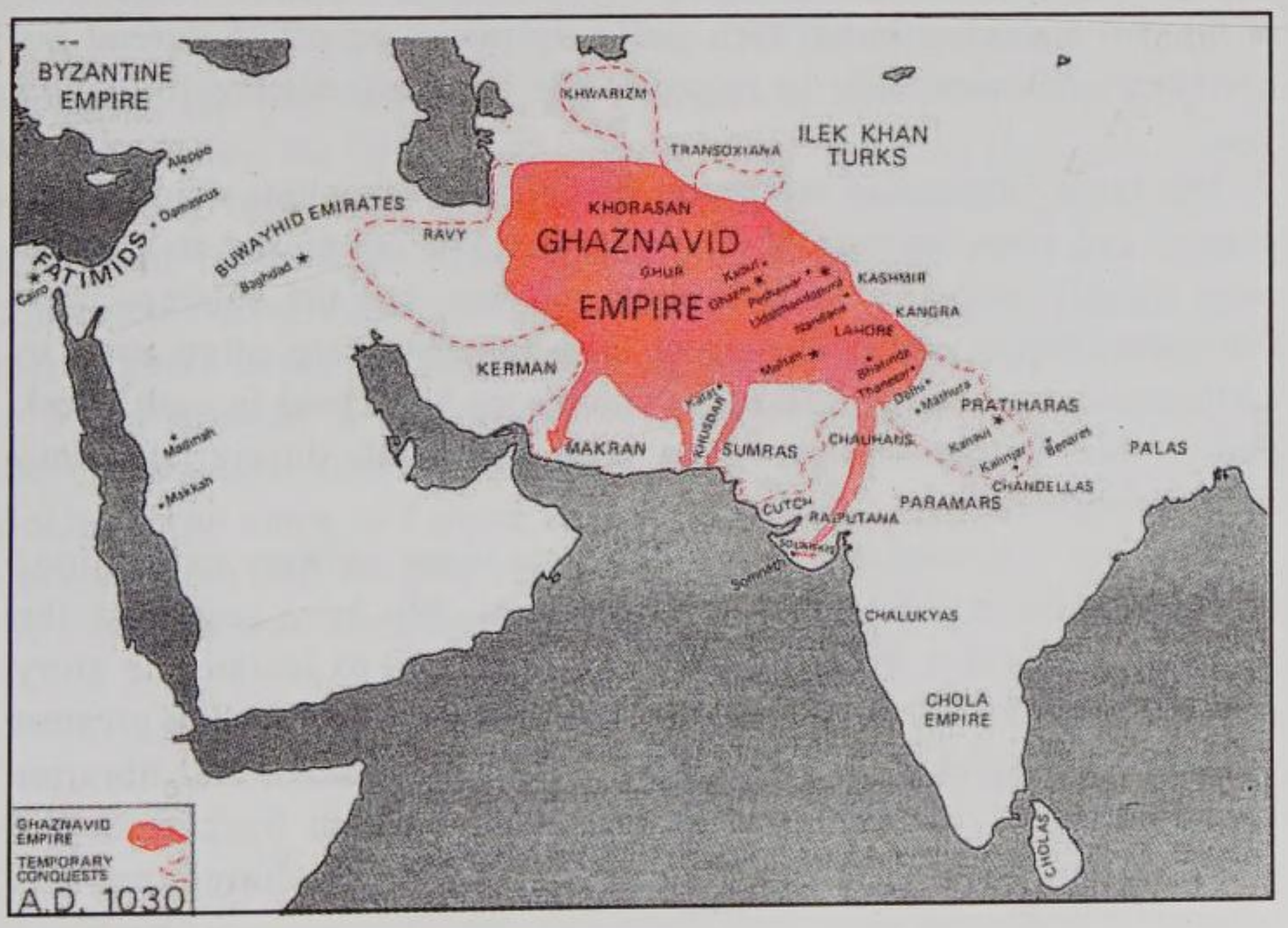
In AD 1019 Mahmud of Ghazni marched from his capital to grapple with the united might of the Hindu rajas. He put the Hindu troops to flight and proceeded to besiege the organizer of the alliance in his fort of Kalinjar. It is said that this killer of 'cowards' now composed a poem in praise of Mahmud.

Somnath

In AD 1025, after the final defeat of the Hindu Shahis, Mahmud undertook his most daring raid against the Hindu temple town of Somnath in Kathiawar, Gujarat. Here, in one of the wealthiest and most revered temples in India, was an idol called Somnath. The priests begged Mahmud not to destroy the idol, promising to hand over all their hidden treasures if he would leave it. But Mahmud said, 'On the Day of Judgement, let me hear the call, "Where is that Mahmud who broke the greatest of the heathen idols", not, "Where is that Mahmud who sold it for gold!"' With that, he brought down his sword on the head of the idol and smashed it to pieces.

Sindh and Balochistan

On his way home from Somnath, Mahmud marched through Rajputana, Cutch and Sindh. The following autumn (AD 1026), he returned to Sindh to punish the Jats who had harrassed his forces during the difficult journey from Somnath. But Upper Sindh could only be governed weakly by a Ghaznavid viceroy stationed in Multan, while Multan itself was in a constant state of rebellion and was always being punished for this by the Ghaznavids. Lower Sindh was never really conquered.



Makran and Khuzdar of present-day Balochistan were independent states, which had been paying tribute to the Ghaznavids since AD 1011. By AD 1029, however, Makran was refusing to pay tribute. After the campaign in Sindh, Mahmud of Ghazni proceeded west to Ravy (near modern Teheran in Iran), and this area was added to the Ghaznavid Empire in AD 1029.

Mahmud of Ghazni

After a long illness, during which he refused to lie down like a sick person, but insisted upon being propped up with cushions, night and day, Mahmud died in April 1030. Mahmud was buried in Ghazni, where his tomb tower still stands today, as strong and simple as the great warrior himself.

Mahmud of Ghazni was a soldier who fought all his life. At the age of foruteen or fifteen he was already the right hand man of his father Subuktagin. His most important wars were with other groups of Turks in the north, over control of the Silk Route area between China and the Mediterranean.

But he is said to have raided the sub-continent as many as seventeen times. His army always returned to the capital of Ghazni victorious, laden with huge amounts of loot and accompanied by thousands of slaves. Even in modern times we are still amazed to think of Mahmud of Ghazni attacking India, then suddenly marching off to defend his northern territories, only to return to the subcontinent the following year.

The huge Ghaznavid army was made up of divisions of different groups and nationalities. Mahmud of Ghazni continued to consult most closely with the Turkish slave officers, but the soldiers from the subcontinent, under their own commander, were often used to counterbalance Turkish influence. The troops were paid in cash, food, and clothing which was mostly obtained as spoils during raids into the subcontinent.

The loot was used not only to finance more military expeditions but also to build a fabulous city at Ghazni. We have seen how the Samanids and other Muslim governors attempted to imitate the glory of Baghdad. Mahmud also did this, and Ghazni was soon the greatest city east of Baghdad. Mahmud built mosques, palaces, and libraries using the skills of thousands of craftsmen brought back from the subcontinent. Some of the precious materials obtained during the raids

were also incorporated in the magnificent new buildings; the famous Somnath idol found its way into the stairs of both Ghazni's main mosque and Mahmud's palace. The city of Ghazni and the generosity of Mahmud attracted scholars from all over the territories which were now part of his empire.

It is said that Mahmud of Ghazni was nothing but a raider, plunderer and iconoclast (breaker of idols), and that he failed to consolidate his rule either to the west or in the northern subcontinent. It is true that the Ghaznavids (like the Ghurids after them) originally belonged to a sect of Muslims which believed in the destruction of all idols and the extermination of all non-Muslims, including anyone whom they considered to be a heretic, but upon gaining power in the subcontinent both families had to moderate their beliefs. For almost two hundred years, Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors ruled over much of the present-day Pakistan area. The agricultural economy may have suffered during this period, but trade and city life flourished.

It is also true that, in the words of Al Beruni, 'Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hands cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places. At the same time, however, the new Muslim culture arrived and took root.'

Conversion to Islam

Much of the population of the present-day Pakistan area became Muslim during the Ghaznavid period. Some of the Afghan tribesmen had already been converted during the first century of Islam before migration from Arab held Sistan. More Afghan tribesmen were converted during Ghaznavid rule. The Janjuas of the Salt Range and many others in the Punjab accepted Islam under Mahmud of Ghazni.

Many Muslim missionaries and scholars came to the area under the Ghaznavids. One of the the first to arrive was Shaikh Ismail Bokhari who came to Lahore in AD 1005. The people of the northern Pakistan area had fiercely resited Turkish conquest but even before the conquest was complete they began to accept Islam.

14

Ghaznavid Rule and Mohammed Ghuri

Al Beruni

After Mahmud of Ghazni had annexed Khwarizm in the north (AD 1017), the great scholar Al Beruni accompanied him back to Ghazni. Al Beruni was a historian and also a scientist—an astronomer, mathematician and geographer. He produced more than one hundred valuable works on various subjects. Al Beruni learned Sanscrit and travelled widely, residing for some time at both Nandana and Multan.

It is said that Al Beruni measured the circumference of the earth at Nandana in the Salt Range. Looking down from the edge of the Potwar Plateau at the earth curving away over the vast distance of the Punjab plain, we can see that Nandana would indeed be a suitable place at which to measure the earth's circumference.

Al Beruni's most famous work is a study of the subcontinent and particularly of its major religion, Hinduism. This book, finished around AD 1030, is still referred to by modern scholars. Al Beruni was one of the greatest practitioners of the new Muslim tradition of objective scholarship. These Muslim scholars tried to discover and state the facts rather than write works simply to glorify one particular ruler or philosophy. Thus Al Beruni states in the introduction to his great work:

> I have written this book on the doctrines of the Hindus....our religious antagonists, ...not considering it inconsistent with my duties as a Muslim to quote their own words at full length when I thought they would help to clarify a subject. If the contents of these quotations happen to be utterly heathenish, and the followers of the truth, i.e., the Muslims, find them objectionable, we can only say that such is the belief of the Hindus...My book is nothing but a simple historic record of facts.

Northern India

Most of the people of northern India at that time were farmers and lived in villages. The craftsmen made the tools, carts, cloth and other things needed by the farmers and were paid with a share of the farmers' crop. Another share of the crop went to the local Hindu temple or Buddhist monastery, while the largest share was collected by the village *chaudhry* and passed on to the local chief who ruled the area with the permission of his king or raja. This social structure is called feudalism.

When the raja went to war, which he often did, on the slightest excuse, his chiefs or vassals were expected to bring troops of armed men to form the raja's army. The chiefs and rajas—they all called themselves Rajputs—needed all the crops they could possibly collect from the villages to lead their kingly lives and to fight their constant wars for the right to collect revenue from even more villages. Every chief wanted to be a king and every king wanted to be an emperor.

Thus life went on in the villages, at the courts and on the battle-fields. There were few cities and there was little long-distance trade. No one paid much attention to what was happening in the rest of the world, or realized the strength or importance of the great Muslim armies approaching closer and closer to their narrow tradition-bound lives. In the words of Al Beruni, 'The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their minds.'

Gurjura-Prathiharas

Having successfully resisted the Arabs of Sindh, the Gurjura-Pratiharas had gradually expanded their kingdom. By AD 836 their greatest ruler, Bhoja I, had established a powerful empire in northern India with Kanauj as its capital. Two other important kingdoms, the Palas of Bengal and the Rashtrakutyas of the Deccan, were continually at war with the Gurjura-Pratiharas, challenging their dominance over northern India, and struggling for control of Kanauj.

After AD 916 the Empire of the Gurjura-Pratiharas once more dissolved into small warring feudal kingdoms. Mahmud of Ghazni's attack on Kanauj in AD 1018 put a final end to the Gurjura-Pratihara dynasty which had dominated the area for almost two centuries. The Pratiharas were replaced by another Rajput clan, the Rathors, who

continued to rule Kanauj during the Ghaznavid era.

The Chandellas (who had been defeated by Mahmud at their fortress of Kalinjar) still ruled over Bundelkhand. The Paramars were in Malwa, and the Solankis (devout Jains) were in Gujarat. But the most powerful Rajput dynasty in northern India was now that of the Chauhans of Delhi and Ajmer under their legendary ruler, Raja Prithviraj.

Southern India

There was a great difference at this time between central northern India and southern India. While the north tended to be very traditional and inward-looking, the south was much less isolated from the rest of the world. Arab traders were welcomed to the port cities of the Cheras of the Malabar Coast, where they were often given land and encouraged to settle down in trading colonies. The southern kingdoms were always in need of more horses from the Arab territories as horses did not breed well in the peninsula.

The Arabs in turn were interested in purchasing various textiles, spices, drugs, jewels and ivory. Some items, particularly paper and silk, came from China. China carried on a flourishing sea trade with the south-eastern Indian ports of the Pandyas and the Cholas (who had destroyed the power of the Pallava kings around AD 845).

Art and Religion

With commercial prosperity, Hindu art and architecture blossomed in peninsular India. The Rashtrakutas of the Deccan are best remembered for their great temple at Ellora—a magnificent structure carved out of solid rock—and for the beautifully carved images in the Elephanta Caves. The Pallavas on the east coast had beautiful temples carved from hills and boulders at their port of Mahabalipurim, near present-day Madras. The Cholas continued the Pallavas' but were better known for their bronze sculptures.

The dominant religion of south India continued to be Hinduism. But the Bhakti Movement was a new reaction within Hinduism to the rigid system of the Brahmins. The Bhakti saints, who came from all castes and included women as well as men, preached that God was everywhere and in everyone and could only be approached through *Bhakti*, or love. Therefore, all men were equal regardless of caste, and love of God must be shown in love for all mankind.

The Bhakti cult, along with the teachings of several south Indian philosophers, spread widely and replaced Buddhism throughout much of the peninsula. In spite of these developments however, the caste system continued to determine everyday affairs. The Brahmins lived privileged lives, while the condition of the untouchables was miserable.

Ghaznavids Lose Persia

Mahmud of Ghazni was succeeded by his eldest son Masud. Masud was faced with the superhuman task of keeping all of his father's far flung conquests under control. His first concern was to reorganize the administration in Lahore. Masud's instructions to the Muslim Turkish officers in Lahore reveal the still colonial nature of Ghaznavid rule: they were not to drink, play polo or mix in society with the Hindu officers, but they should not wound the feelings of the Hindu officers and their troops with unsuitable displays of religious intolerance.

At one point Masud sent Tilak, his trusted Hindu general, to punish the Lahore governor for raiding Benares without forwarding any of the loot to Ghazni. In AD 1037 Masud himself came to raid northern India in imitation of his father. But while Masud was preoccupied with affairs in the subcontinent, the Seljuk Turks began to replace Ghaznavid rule in Iran.

The Seljuks were a tribe of Turkish nomads. Mahmud of Ghazni had given them permission to live along his northern frontier on the banks of the Oxus River and later allowed them to move westwards to Khwarizm. But Mahmud had always been aware of the potential danger of Seljuk power and had kept a Seljuk prince hostage to ensure their good behaviour.

During Masud's reign, the Seljuks were able to drive the Ghaznavids out of Khorasan. In the historic battle at Merv, (AD 1040) Masud fought bravely but was decisively beaten. Now he despaired of being able to keep any of the Ghaznavids' western territories saying, 'We rose to power at Merv, and the power has gone from us at Merv' He had all the Ghaznavid treasures loaded up and he journeyed with them to the subcontinent.

The Turkish and Hindu officers and soldiers, however, disagreed with Masud's despairing attitude and thought it unworthy of a Ghaznavid emperor. When Masud reached the Indus river crossing at Hund (former Udabhandapura), his troops rebelled. Masud, his

wife and some loyal followers were arrested and taken to the Giri Fort, which still stands in the Margalla Hills between Taxila and Islamabad.

One month later Masud was beheaded at the age of forty-five. He is remembered as *Sultani Shaheed*, or the Martyr King. Masud's son Maudud then defeated Masud's younger brother to become Ghaznavid ruler.

But all of this confusion gave the Seljuk Turks time to consolidate and expand their rule in Khorasan.

Punjab

During Maudud's reign (AD 1042-49), three Hindu rajas made a determined effort to drive the Ghaznavids from the Punjab. They captured Kangra and Thanesar and laid siege to Lahore, but a Turkish sharp-shooter managed to kill the Hindu leader, as a result of which his troops fled and order was restored. In Lahore there is an old graveyard, known as *Ganj-e-Shahidan* (Repository of Martyrs). According to local tradition, the Muslims who died defending Lahore are buried there.

Maudud sent one of his sons to administer Peshawar and another to govern Lahore. The Multan area, however, had regained its independence soon after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni and its rulers remained loyal to the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt.

Sindh

The Sumras of south-eastern Sindh, who were possibly a Rajput clan, had been among the first converts to Islam after Muhammed bin Qasim's conquest and had taken part in the administration of Arab ruled Sindh. After this they came under the influence of the Fatimids. But by the middle of the eleventh century the Sumras had acquired enough power to govern independently in south-eastern Sindh.

Sumra rule lasted for more than two centuries and the names of some twenty-one Sumra rulers have been handed down to us. At that time south-eastern Sindh was very fertile and prosperous as it received more of the Indus waters than it does now. Cutch was also fertile then, and the Rann of Cutch remained above sea level the whole year around. The Sumras annexed Cutch and built their two capitals there.

The Later Ghaznavids

The reigns of the Ghaznavid rulers Ibrahim and his son Masud II marked the golden age of Ghaznavids rule in the northern Pakistan area (AD 1059-1115). The Seljuks had rapidly extended their rule throughout Persia until they were the major power in the Muslim world. But the Ghaznavids' western borders were secured by treaties and marriage ties with the Seljuks.

Therefore, the Ghaznavids could again turn their attention eastwards and undertake successful raids into northern India. Under the governorship of Shirzad, Ibrahim's grandson, Lahore became a major cultural centre of the Muslim world. One of the greatest poets in the Persian language, Masud Sa'd Salman, lived in Lahore at that time as did the great Saint Data Ganj Bakhsh.

Data Ganj Bakhsh

Of all the many religious leaders who brought Islam to the area, one of the most important was Syed Ali Ibn Usman of Havver, better known as Data Ganj Bakhsh. He was born in the Ghazni area around AD 1009, visited Turkestan, Syra, Iraq and Iran and studied with various well-known religious scholars before settling in Lahore. There he built a mosque and began to preach to the common people. He wrote both poetry and prose in Persian. His most famous work has remained the standard text on Sufism for centuries. The tomb of Data Ganj Bakhsh in Lahore is still visited by thousands of people each year.

Confusion in Central Asia

The Ghaznavid ruler Bahram Shah (AD 1118-52) was also a great patron of literature but the end of his reign saw more upheavals on the Ghaznavids' western borders. The Seljuks' power had declined. Two of the Seljuks' former vassals, the Shah of Khwarizm and the Karakhitai Buddhists (who had been driven out of China) now began to struggle for control over the Silk Routes. The Karakhitai, having gained the upper hand, established their rule over all of Turkestan.

Now a blood feud broke out between the ruler of Ghazni and the princes of Ghur. Ghur is an isolated region in the hills south of Herat in central Afghanistan. The princes of Ghur had been conquered and Islamicized by the Ghaznavids but when a Ghurid prince was executed by the Ghaznavid ruler, Bahram Shah, that prince's brother

attacked Ghazni, and Bahram Shah had to temporarily retreat to his eastern territories. But he soon returned to Ghazni with fresh troops and had the rebellious Ghuri captured and brutally executed. At this, the remaining Ghurid brothers launched a savage attack on Ghazni in AD 1150-1. This resulted in Ghazni's total destruction, and earned for the Ghurid leader the title *Jahan-Soz* or Earth Burner.

The Ghurids were now independent of the Ghaznavids. But they were not interested in either the subcontinent or even the Ghazni area. Instead, they marched towards Herat where they were temporarily subdued by the Seljuk governor. Now, yet another Turkish tribe, the Ghuzz, rebelled against the Seljuks and overran much of the Afghanistan area in AD 1153. It was the Ghuzz, therefore, who limited Ghaznavid rule to the northern Pakistan area after AD 1160. The Ghaznavids capital was now Lahore.

Trade under the Ghaznavids

Ever since the Arabs has pushed the nomadic Turks north of the Silk Routes, trade had become more important in this part of the subcontinent. The Hindu Shahis had profited from the reopening of the trade routes even while resisting Muslim conquest. By AD 1030 even Brahmins were active in trade. Al Beruni found that Brahmins in the Punjab would conduct their business through a lower caste middleman in order to avoid losing status themselves.

The Ghaznavids' conquest of the Punjab resulted in a further revival of trade. More coins were needed. Mahmud of Ghazni had silver coins minted with his name inscribed in Arabic on one side and a Sanskrit translation of the *Kalima* (Muslim creed) on the other. The coins of mixed metal had Arabic on one side and a Rajput bull on the other. The later Ghaznavid coins were imitations of the Hindu Shahi 'Bull and Horseman' coins.

Towns

Many of these coins were minted at Lahore. This was the city which gained most from Ghaznavid rule where Mahmud of Ghazni built a new city and a fort of solid masonry work' at first called Mahmudpur. Lahore has continued to be a major centre of commerce ever since this time. An Armenian document of the twelfth century describes Lahore as a

> Big and very rich city...This is a city of plenty, and everything that is good and worthy in the country one can find in the city, for merchants bring them and sell them there. And all the merchants get everything there.

After the destruction of Ghazni, many poets, writers, and philosophers migrated to Lahore. And when this city became the capital of the remains of the Ghaznavid Empire it benefited still more from its new position. During Ghaznavid rule, trade and diplomatic relations were maintained not only with the Muslim territories to the west, but also with the north Indian kingdoms of Gujarat, Ajmer and Kanauj.

Taxila had declined under the Shahi rulers who kept their capital at Udabhandapura (Hund). But now, under its new name of Margalla, Taxila once again flourished and was a major halting place east of the Indus. Remains of various Ghaznavid mosques and forts are still to be seen in the Taxila area.

Multan and Ghazni were great trade centres linked by the caravan route through the Gomal Pass. Ever since its conquest in AD 1001, Peshawar had been an extremely important headquarter of the Ghaznavids as it lay between Ghazni and the Indus. After the conquest of Swat, the defences at Udegram were strengthened and extended. Ghaznavid coins and glazed pottery have been found there. Other local forts and castles were also turned into garrison towns.

Agriculture under the Ghaznavids

As newly arrived outsiders, the Ghaznavid rulers could not yet organize increased agriculture production, but they did tax agriculture heavily. In Ghaznavid Punjab the *batai,* or ruler's share of the crop, had to be collected each year by sheer force. The cities, towns and commerce were developing at the expense of the agricultural economy.

Mohammed Ghuri

The Ghurids meanwhile grew stronger. The Ghurid ruler occupied himself mainly with the conquest of Khorasan, but in AD 1173 he and his younger brother drove the Ghuzz from the Ghazni area. This region was assigned to the younger brother Shahabuddin Mohammed Ghuri, who immediately began to plan raids on the subcontinent. Mohammed Ghuri first entered the area through the Gomal Pass and,

in AD 1175 he occupied Multan and Uch (near modern Bahawalpur). Then Mohammed Ghuri attempted to imitate Mahmud of Ghazni's famous raids on Gujarat. He marched through the Rajputana desert, but was defeated by the Chalukya Raja of Kathiawar in AD 1178.

Next Mohammed Ghuri turned on the Ghaznavid territories, entering this time through the Khyber Pass. Peshawar was taken in AD 1179. In spite of the combined resistance of the Gakkars and the Ghaznavid ruler, Khusrau Malik, Sialkot fell in AD 1185. Khusrau Malik was at first able to check Mohammed Ghuri's advance upon Lahore, but was eventually defeated and taken captive. In AD 1186-7 Lahore was occupied by Mohammed Ghuri and Ghaznavid rule had come to an end.

First battle of Tarain

In AD 1190-1 Mohammed Ghuri conquered Bhatinda in the territory of the Chauhans. The Rajput ruler immediately marched west to reclaim the fortress. Mohammed Ghuri, who had started back towards Ghazni, had to return to defend his conquest. The Ghurids met the forces of Raja Prithviraj at Tarain near modern-day Karnal in India. The Rajputs attacked with great force driving most of Mohammed Ghuri's army from the field.

Mohammed Ghuri himself led a charge against the Rajput Commander-in-Chief and struck him in the face with a lance, shattering his front teeth, but the Rajput general drove his lance through Mohammed Ghuri's arm. Faint from pain and loss of blood, Mohammed Ghuri was about to fall from his horse when a young Khilji soldier leapt up behind the prince, steadied him and directed the horse to safety. Mohammed Ghuri was transferred to a stretcher and the army retreated to Ghazni, while the Rajputs retook Bhatinda.

Second battle of Tarain

Back in Ghazni, Mohammed Ghuri brooded over his failure and swore to take revenge. A year was spent in preparations before he again marched on northern India in AD 1192. The armies met once more at Tarain and this time Prithviraj was captured and his forces were defeated. His queen and her attendants all burnt themselves to death as was the custom of defeated Rajput women (*jauhar*). The Kingdom

of Delhi was now in the hands of a Muslim ruler and so it would remain for the next 656 years until the last Mughal was deposed by the British.

Unlike Mahmud of Ghazni, Shahabuddin Mohammed Ghuri had come to northern India to establish a permanent kingdom. Although he himself returned to Ghazni, Mohammed Ghuri appointed the extremely capable Qutbuddin Aibak as his viceroy in the subcontinent. An occupation army stationed near Delhi now proceeded to defeat many of the Rajput clans, while some chiefs were allowed to continue as tributaries of the Turks. Other Turkish officers subdued Badaun and Oudh, and Mohammed Ghuri himself marched from Ghazni in AD 1194 to defeat Kanauj and Benares, and again in AD 1195-6 to extend his Indian territories southwards to Bayana and Gwalior.

The Rajputs had learned nothing from Mahmud of Ghazni's raids. Northern India had remained as disunited as ever. The Rajput ruling class had failed to change its military tactics and continued to look upon warfare as a gentleman's sport. The rajas' huge armies were drawn up in large bodies of men, commanded by their individual feudal lords, and defended by lines of heavily armoured elephants.

The Rajputs paid no attention to development in the West, where the Turks continued to take warfare very seriously. The Turks relied on speed. The small Turkish forces, mounted on swift horses, protected by lightweight chain mail and armed with small bows, which could be shot accurately from galloping horses, were able to overpower the much larger but less well-led or equipped Rajput armies.

Iqta System

At this time the most strategically important sections of the newly conquered territories were assigned as *iqta* to various Turkish slave generals. Military leaders were assigned certain territories which they were expected to control and if possible to expand. *Iqta* holders did not receive a salary. They supported themselves and their administrations by collecting revenue (usually a fraction of the crop) from their assigned territory.

In general, life in the countryside remained much the same as before. Some of the larger, more rebellious chiefs were replaced by *iqta* holders. Most of the smaller feudal chiefs were probably left in place although both they and the peasants now kept smaller shares of the crop since some of the crop had to be given to the *iqta* holders.

In both the Ghaznavid and Ghurid regimes, it was the Turkish slave officers who held the most important positions, both military and administrative. Mohammed Ghuri had no sons, and his Turkish slave officers came closest to filling this position. Many of them had received excellent educations. A young slave officer might begin his career as keeper of the stable, or wardrobe, or armour or weapons, or as the bearer of the royal parasol. With hard work he could rise steadily and eventually gain an important position. Mohammed bin Bakhtiar was one such slave who rose through merit.

Bakhtiar, Bihar and Bengal

On the eastern coast of northern India the Palas of Bengal had maintained diplomatic and trade relations with China, Nepal and southeast Asia. These devout Buddhist rulers had so many colleges and monasteries (*viharas*) established that northern Bengal came to be known as Vihar or Bihar. But at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Buddhist Palas of Bengal had been overthrown by the Hindu Sena dynasty.

Mohammad bin Bakhtiar was a Khilji tribesman and a slave of Mohammad Ghuri. He was assigned land in Oudh. With the revenue from this land he enlisted a small force of Khilji horsmen who swept through Bihar.

Disguised as a horsedealer, Mohammed bin Bakhtiar entered Nadia, the capital of Bengal, with only eighteen horsemen. Killing the royal guards, they walked into the palace. There the elderly raja was surprised at dinner and fled barefoot. Soon the rest of the army arrived. Bengal was conquered and even some parts of Assam fell to the Khilji tribesmen. Mohammed bin Bakhtiar was made governor of Bengal.

Now Mohammed bin Bakhtiar decided to march through Tibet, to open an alternative route between his newly conquered territories and the Turkish homelands. In Tibet, however, Mohammed bin Bakhtiar met defeat and his retreat was disastrous. The Tibetans destroyed many bridges before the troops could flee across them. Mohammed bin Bakhtiar himself was half-dead of illness and shock when he returned from this ill-fated expedition only to be killed by his own lieutenant.

The Ghurids

By AD 1203 Turkish control had been established throughout the Ganges River basin. The secret of Ghurid success in the subcontinent was the division of responsibilities between the two Ghurid brothers. The elder brother looked after the north-western territories in Central Asia, leaving the younger free to expand the empire eastwards. Only a military genius like Mahmud of Ghazni could keep both the Punjab and Khorasan under control at the same time, and even Mahmud had made no effort to consolidate his conquests in northern India.

After the death of his elder brother, however, Mohammed Ghuri made the terrible mistake of attacking the Khwarizm Shah. He was not only defeated by the Khwarizm Turks, but his retreating army was also attacked and almost destroyed by the Karakhitai. And as soon as Mohammed Ghuri had marched north from Ghazni, the Gakkars and other tribes in the Salt Range rose in rebellion. They defeated the Ghurid governor of Multan and plundered Lahore. They cut the Ghazni-Lahore route so that revenue could not be sent from the Punjab.

Mohammed Ghuri had to quickly march to the Punjab. There, with the help of Qutbuddin Aibak's troops from Hindustan, he crushed the Gakkar uprising. On his way back to Ghazni, Mohammed Ghuri made an overnight stop near Jhelum and was killed in his sleep (AD 1026). We are still not sure whether the assassin was a Gakkar or an Ismaili.

The Ghurid Empire in Central Asia rose and fell just as rapidly as the Turkish empires before and after it (those of the Ghuzz and the Khwarizm Shah), and it is just as little remembered. The capital of Firoz Koh in the region of Ghur flourished briefly, attracting various scholars, but it has since disappeared. Ghazni continued to thrive as a trade centre, but nothing is left there now from Ghurid times. It is only Mohammed Ghuri who is remembered along with his great achievement while still a prince: the permanent Muslim conquest of northern India.

Mohammed Shahabuddin Ghuri was the loyal younger brother of his king. After every victory in the subcontinent, Mohammed Ghuri would send the best items of the loot to his elder brother in Firoz Koh. He never thought of declaring his independence which would probably have resulted in the kind of power struggle that is the downfall of dynasties everywhere. And his elder brother never had to summon

Mohammed Ghuri from Ghazni for an unnecessary display of his obvious loyalty.

Thus each of the brothers was able to concentrate on his own responsibilities and Mohammed Ghuri could push permanent Muslim conquest much farther east than did Mahmud of Ghazni. Mohammed Ghuri in turn inspired a similar loyalty and devotion in his Turkish slave generals, whom he treated as sons. But after his death the governors of the various parts of the Ghurid Empire declared their independence.

15

The Early Delhi Sultanate and the Mongols

Qutbuddin Aibak (AD 1206-10)

As a child in Turkestan, Qutbuddin had been captured and sold as a slave. He had the good luck of being purchased by a man who brought him up like one of his own sons. Qutbuddin received a good education and learned archery and horsemanship. At his owner's death, Qutbuddin was sold to Mohammed Ghuri and eventually became his most trusted general.

Qutbuddin Aibak, like his owner Mohammed Ghuri, performed his greatest deeds while still a subordinate. Qutbuddin Aibak was responsible for much of the conquest of northern India and was appointed Mohammed Ghuri's viceroy in Delhi. One of the first tasks undertaken by Qutbuddin while still the viceroy of Delhi was the construction of a large mosque there, which he entitled *Quwaat-ul-Islam* or the Might of Islam. Its great tower, the Qutb Minar, could not be completed during Qutbuddin's lifetime. The construction of the great mosque in Ajmer was also begun by Qutbuddin.

At the time of Mohammed Ghuri's death, Qutbuddin was in Lahore to assist in the suppression of the Gakkars. Because of the unsettled situation in the Punjab, Ghazni and Ghur, Qutbuddin never returned to Delhi. He could not establish his rule at Ghazni as the people of that city did not support him. Therefore, he spent most of his short four year reign in Lahore. There he died in AD 1210 after falling from his horse in a game of polo.

Qutbuddin was buried in Lahore. Recently (around 1970) a new tomb was constructed over his grave on Aibak Road near Anarkali Bazaar. According to his court historians, Qutbuddin Aibak was popularly known as *Laksh Bakhsh* because of his generosity. Since Qutbuddin had been a slave, and several of his successors were slaves, the early Delhi Sultanate (AD 1206-90) is often referred to as the Slave Dynasty.

Iltutmish (AD 1211-36)

Qutbuddin Aibak's son proved to be lazy and incompetent. Therefore, the Turkish officers chose Iltutmish, the slave and son-in-law of Qutbuddin Aibak, to be Sultan in AD 1211. The capital was moved to Delhi and Iltutmish at first concentrated on consolidating his control over central northern India.

The Khwarizm Shah

Just before his death Mohammed Ghuri had fought unsuccessfully with both the Shah of Khwarizm and the Buddhist Karakhitai. Soon after Mohammed Ghuri's death, the Khwarizm Shah succeeded in driving the Karakhitai out of his part of Turkestan (Transoxiana). Then he proceeded to swallow up all of the Ghurid territories west of the Indus River. This drove Yalduz, the Ghurid ruler at Ghazni, into the Punjab. Yalduz occupied Lahore before being defeated by Iltutmish. In the meantime, the Karakhitai ruler was slain by Mongols, a strange new people from the north.

The Mongols

In present-day Mongolia and southern Siberia, lived various tribes known to the Chinese as Tartars. Under their great leader Chingez Khan they all became known as Mongols and eventually established the largest empire in the history of mankind. The northernmost tribes in the forests of Siberia supported themselves mainly by hunting. They considered their more southerly neighbours, who lived by herding, to be timid weaklings, but by anyone else's standards, all of the tribesmen were extremely fierce and warlike. The Mongols wandered the whole year around with their herds of horses, fighting each other over grazing lands. When ponies were needed from the herd, the men caught them with lassoes on poles.

The Mongols lived in tents called yurts which were made of animal hair felt, water-proofed with animal fat and held up by wooden frames. The ordinary tents could be collapsed and loaded on horseback for moving, but the larger, comfortably furnished yurts of the Mongol chieftains were constructed on large carts and were pulled from place to place by teams of oxen. Much of the work, including setting up and taking down the tents, was done by the women. Since the supply

of water was often a problem, no clothes or cooking pots were allowed to be washed while a tribe was travelling.

Chingez Khan

Chingez Khan was born about AD 1155 in the family of a minor chief in present day Outer Mongolia. When he was about thirteen years old, his father was poisoned, and the young boy spent the rest of his childhood in miserable poverty. He lived with his mother and brothers in the borderlands between the hunting and herding Mongols.

He soon organized a band of young adventurers to raid the more civilized herdsmen. By AD 1206 (the year of Mohammed Ghuri's death) he had adopted the name Chingez Khan and was the acknowledged leader of all the tribes of Mongolia. Chingez Khan set out to conquer the world.

Every Mongol warrior had a string of horses. On a campaign he could change from one to another and keep on riding if necessary at full speed for two days and two nights If provisions gave out, he could use some of his horses for food, eating their flesh and drinking their blood and fermented mares' milk. Chingez Khan conquered North China including Beijing and overran Korea. Next the Mongols turned to Central Asia. They defeated the Karakhitai and pursued the Khwarizm Shah relentlessly across his empire until he managed to hide on a small island where he died in AD 1221.

Jalaluddin

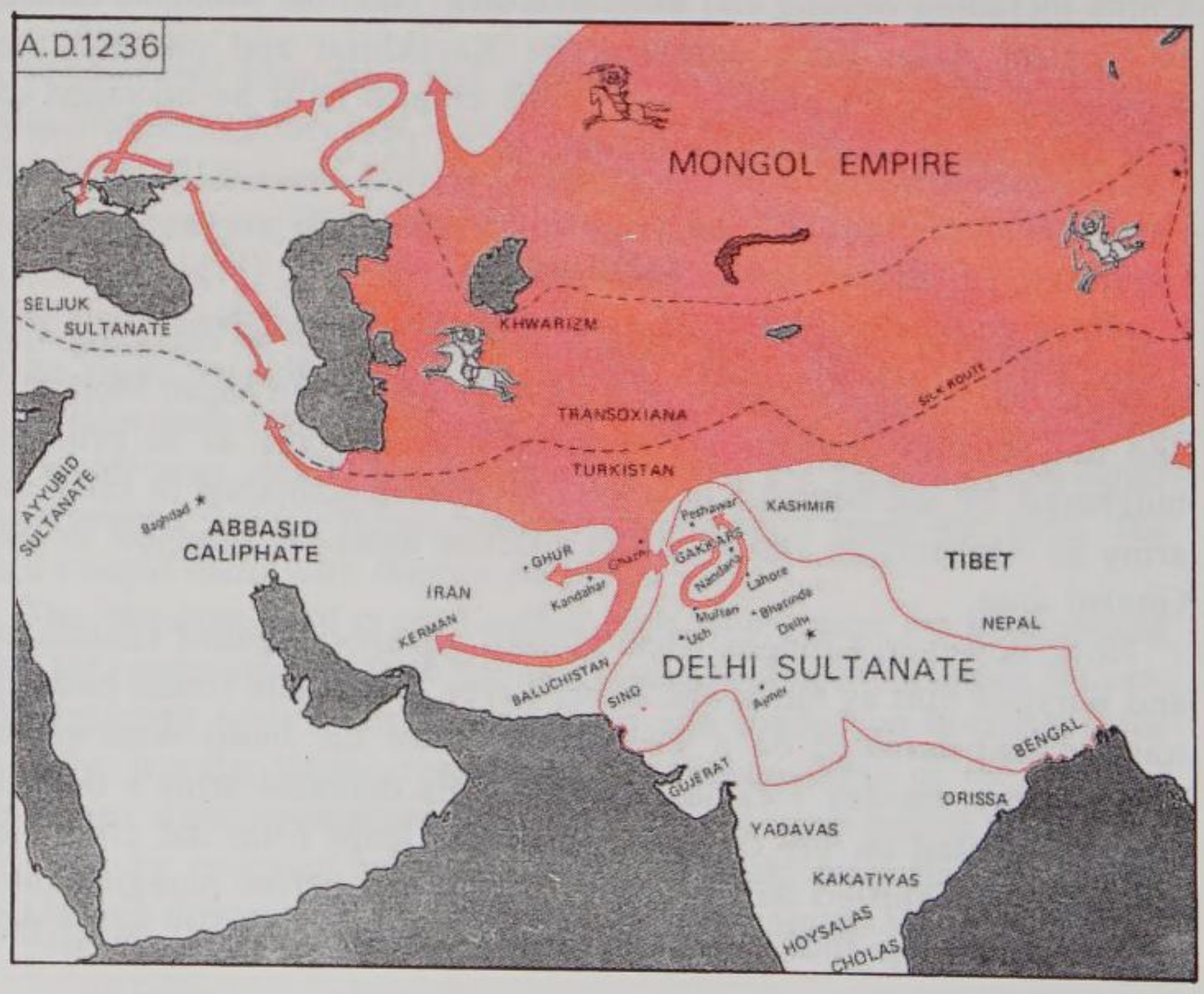
The Khwarizm Shah's son Jalaluddin was ready to carry on the struggle. He called for a Holy War *(Jehad)* against the pagan Mongols, and the Muslim population responded bravely, only to be brutally butchered by the Mongol invaders. Jalaluddin managed to raise an army in Afghanistan and to inflict a defeat upon the Mongols in the Ghazni area.

Now, however, Chingez Khan himself advanced against Jalaluddin and pursued him as far as the Indus River. Jalaluddin found himself trapped and defeated on a steep bank above the Indus somewhere north of present-day Kalabagh. Seizing his defeated army's banner and still seated on his charger, Jalaluddin leapt from the cliff. He and his horse hurtled downwards for sixty feet before plunging into the swift-flowing Indus, and swimming across the river, with the

banner still held aloft. 'That such a father should have produced such a son!', exclaimed the amazed Chingez Khan and forbade his men to shoot their arrows at the retreating figure.

Nevertheless, the Mongols crossed the Indus and chased Jalaluddin to Nandana in the Salt Range, which they captured and sacked. Then the Mongols ravaged the rest of the Punjab including the Lahore and Multan districts, in search of the elusive Jalaluddin. Chingez Khan withdrew to the mountains when the weather began to grow hot. But Jalaluddin stayed in the Pakistan area for three years, gathering around himself the remaining troops of his former army and newly recruited adventurers.

Jalaluddin's actions here are still a subject of controversy. The historians of the various courts recorded him as having entered into every possible alliance with, and contradictorily giving battle to every group in the area; the Gakkars of the Punjab, Qubacha (the former Ghurid governor of Multan and Uch who until now had been ruling fairly independently of Delhi), Qubacha's rebellious son, who temporarily occupied Lahore, and Iltutmish himself, the Sultan of Delhi.



It is said that when Jalaluddin requested permission from Iltutmish to take shelter in Delhi, Iltutmish politely but firmly refused, knowing that if he did grant asylum to Jalaluddin, Chingez Khan would probably attack and destroy Delhi. Iltutmish wrote to Jalaluddin that the climate of Delhi would not suit him, and advised him to proceed to Iran instead.

Jalaluddin did, in fact, proceed through Sindh and Balochistan to Iran where he managed to revive and expand the remains of the Khwarizm Empire until his assassination in AD 1231. Although Jalaluddin's flight brought the terribly destructive Mongols to the area, his ten year struggle to defend Muslim territories from the pagan and utterly ruthless Mongol hordes was admirable.

In the meantime, Chingez Khan had left one son to complete the subjugation of Afghanistan and had sent another to conquer Balochistan and Kirman (in Iran) before withdrawing slowly to Mongolia. In the midst of another campaign in China, Chingez Khan died in AD 1227.

His death brought a brief respite from Mongol attacks. But the Pakistan area had already been devastated and depopulated. Peshawar and Multan in particular had been raided with disastrous results. Qubacha, the rebellious ruler of Multan and Uch, was exhausted by his efforts against the Mongols and he was easily defeated by Iltutmish in AD 1228.

The Caliph's recognition

With the defeats of Yalduz and Qubacha, Iltutmish had brought much of the Punjab and Upper Sindh under the control of the Delhi Sultanate. It took three expeditions to finally destroy Khilji power in the Bengal area. At this point Iltutmish decided to seek recognition for his Delhi Sultanate from the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad. When the Caliph's envoys came to Delhi in AD 1229 to invest Iltutmish, their arrival was celebrated with great splendour.

The Sultan had the Caliph's name inscribed in the local script on his mixed metal coins. With the Caliph's recognition, the Delhi government's right to rule was established in the eyes of the Muslim theologians (*ulema*), the Sufi orders and the civilian Muslim bureaucrats. These groups had by now gained some importance, although the Turkish military officers and *iqta* holders still formed the core of the Sultan's power base.

Iltutmish Dies

Unfortunately, Iltutmish's most able son died in AD 1231. The mosque tomb which Iltutmish built for him near Delhi is much more severe and plain than the grand Ajmer mosque or the Qutb Minar, both of which Iltutmish completed after the death of Qutbuddin Aibak. Nevertheless, it was this simple mosque tomb which became the model for much of the Muslim architecture in the subcontinent.

Until his death of cancer in AD 1235, Iltutmish continued to consolidate and expand the kingdom of Delhi. Rebel Rajputs were put down and the Malwa area was annexed, extending the Sultanate as far south as the Narbudda River (AD 1234). Most of Sindh was brought under control. Iltutmish's last campaign was against the irrepressible Gakkars of the Salt Range, but he died before he was able to subdue them.

Although Iltutmish consolidated and extended the north Indian conquests of Mohammed Ghuri and Qutbuddin Aibak, he never attempted to defend the present-day Pakistan area against either the Khwarizm Shah or the highly destructive Mongols. And while he did eventually bring much of Sindh and Punjab under Delhi's control, he could not succeed in subduing the Gakkars.

From the point of view of Muslims originating in India however, Iltutmish is remembered as a sensible and competent ruler who ensured the survival of the Delhi Sultanate when it was in danger from all sides as well as from within. Iltutmish gave asylum to many talented scholars, statesmen and generals who were fleeing from the Mongols. These newcomers helped him to improve the administration which he modelled on that of the Seljuk Turks.

Razia Sultana (AD 1236-40)

As his most capable son had died, and the others were worthless as rulers, Iltutmish had decided that his daughter Razia should succeed him on the Delhi throne. Razia was well versed in governmental affairs and her father had often left her in charge of the administration in Delhi when he had to leave his capital. In spite of all her qualification, however, Razia's entire reign was spent in unsuccessfully trying to establish her right to rule in the face of the male chauvinist attitudes of the Turkish officers.

For seven months the officers kept her drunken brother Ruknuddin on the throne. As soon as Razia had successfully secured the throne

from her brother, with the support of the people of Delhi, the Turkish governor in Lahore rebelled. When she marched against him, however, he first fled and then apologized.

The Turkish officers resented being ruled by a female, and particularly by one who attempted to keep them under tight control. In the words of the historian Siraj,

> Sultana Razia was a great monarch. she was wise, just and generous...and of warlike talent. She possessed all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so, in the estimation of men, all these virtues were worthless.

Razia was deposed by the Turkish nobles while going to suppress a rebellion in Bhatinda. She then joined forces with the rebellious Bhatinda governor, Altunia, whom she married. They marched on Delhi but were defeated by the Turkish officers who had raised another of her brothers to the throne. Razia and her husband were eventually killed by robbers in AD 1240.

After this, the Turkish officers fought among themselves, now supporting one and then another of the descendants to Iltutmish. They were incapable of uniting either against the Hindu Rajputs, who everywere defied their authority, or the Mongols, who were again threatening their north-west border.

Return of the Mongols

The Mongols had been growing from strength to strength. They had invaded southern Russia, Hungary and Poland and had occupied Kabul, Kandahar and Balochistan. Most of Iran had been conquered. With the Mongols now firmly in control of the Central Asian Silk Routes, trade once more resumed. The Mongols soon realized that it was more profitable to tax than to loot trading caravans, so the trade routes were fairly safe.

Since the Mongols themselves did not take much interest either in trading or in religious affairs, they allowed merchants of any religion to travel through their territories. For the first time, men of Christian Europe travelled as far east as China. The Europeans saw for themselves the places of origin of some of the items which were so highly valued in the West. They now realized what tremendous profits could be made if they could trade directly with the East, rather than through various middlemen.

The merchants of the present-day Pakistan area were also anxious to resume their international trade. The towns west of the Indus generally found it sensible to submit to Mongol rule. The Delhi Sultanate claimed all territories east of the Indus, but since it was not always able to enforce this claim, the local chiefs and town elders, finding themselves in 'disputed territory' generally tried to maintain their neutrality between Delhi and the Mongols.

The merchants of Lahore often travelled to Khorasan and Turkestan using passes issued to them by the Mongol government for travel in countries under Mongol control. Therefore, when the Mongols attacked Lahore, in AD 1241, the merchant community took no part in defending Lahore or resisting the Mongols. The Sultanate's governor escaped from the doomed city and claimed that the population had refused to help him in defence preparations.

The Mongols now battered holes in the city walls and stormed into Lahore. In the fighting which followed, thousands of townspeople as well as thousands of Mongols lost their lives. Many other residents were enslaved and their homes were looted and burnt before the Mongols hurried away, having learned of the death of their great Khan. In AD 1243, however, the Sultanate was able to repulse another Mongol attack.

Nasiruddin

The last of Iltutmish's descendants to be raised to the throne was his youngest son Nasiruddin Mahmud. This pious Sultan took no interest in worldly affairs and spent most of his time in prayer. He supported himself by making copies of the Holy Quran, while leaving the affairs of state in the hands of his chief minister, the Turkish slave Balban.

In the meantime, the Gakkars of the Punjab took advantage of the unsettled situation to continue their centuries' long struggle for independence. They used the easily defensible terrain of the Salt Range as the centre of their resistance against the Delhi Sultanate. The Gakkars were accused of aiding the Mongol invaders, and a military expedition from Delhi punished them severely, taking thousands of Gakkars into captivity. (The Janjuas were another important tribe in the Salt Range at this time. They mined the salt at Khewra. Malot, where the old town walls and gate can still be seen on the edge of the Potwar plateau, was another Janjua headquarter).

By the second decade of Nasiruddin's reign (AD 1255), Balban had gained total control over the Delhi government, eliminating all possible rivals. Some powerful Turkish officers had been killed fighting the Mongols, while others realized that unity was necessary to face the danger of Mongol invasion.

This danger was made clear in AD 1258 when the Mongols captured Baghdad and executed the Caliph along with his family. Shortly afterwards, envoys arrived in Delhi from Hulagu Khan, the Mongol conqueror of Baghdad. Balban organized a grand reception for them, complete with military parades, in an attempt to give a show of strength to discourage any Mongol plans of invading the Sultanate.

The Mongols were now at the height of their worldwide power. In AD 1260, however, Mongol expansion in the western Muslim world was halted by the Turkish Mameluke rulers of Egypt. Around the same time, the Mongol Empire broke up into four independent Mongol states: Russia, ruled by the Khans of the Golden Horde; China and Mongolia, ruled by Chingez Khan's grandson Kublai Khan; 3) Persia and Iraq, ruled by the Ilkhans; and Central Asia, ruled by the descendants of Chaghatai (Chuqtai), Chingez Khan's second son. The territory of this fourth state along with the language which developed there (a mixture of Turkish and Mongolian, like the inhabitants), came to be known as Chaghatai.

Kublai Khan, who had been educated in the Chinese tradition, converted to Buddhism and took full advantage of every aspect of Chinese culture and civilization. But the Chaghatai Mongols had only the nomadic northern Turks to mix with, a people almost as rough and warlike as themselves, so they remained faithful to their original Mongol way of life. This proved unfortunate for much of the present-day Pakistan area.

Nikudar, the grandson of Chaghatai, setled with his horde in the territory of western Afghanistan and eastern Iran. Marco Polo, the famous Italian traveller, was full of admiration for the rule of the great Kublai Khan in China. But he had a very different attitude towards the Nikudari Horde, which had held him prisoner until he managed to escape. Marco Polo described the Nikudaris' raids:

> They know well the localities;...they come here by the dozen thousands, sometimes more, sometimes less. Once they seize a plain, no one escapes, neither men nor cattle. If they make their mind to plunder, there is nothing that they cannot take hold of. When they take a folk in captivity they slay the old and take away the young whom they sell as slaves.

The continuous Mongol raids on the present-day Pakistan area resulted in the ruin of much farming land, the slaughter and enslavement of much of the settled farming population and the decline of small feudal states such as Khuzdar in Balochistan. The present-day Balochistan and NWFP provinces became severely depopulated during this period.

Attracted by the empty lands, and possibly fleeing the permanent takeover of their old pastures (in Persia and Afghanistan) by Mongol hordes, the Baloch tribes and a second wave of Afghan tribesmen moved into the western part of the Pakistan area, adding two very important ingredients to the present population of Pakistan.

Sindh

Southeastern Sindh, meanwhile, which had remained relatively independent of both the Mongols and the Sultanate, now fell victim to drastic change in the course of the Indus River. The bulk of the water flow switched from the eastern to the western branches of the river, probably as a result of earthquakes. This led to the present barren condition of south-eastern Sindh and caused the decline of the Sumra Rajputs, who now moved their capital west from Cutch to Mohammed Tur. The old Muslim cities of Mansurah and Bhanbore (Daibul) also fell into ruin.

Balban (AD 1266-87)

At Nasiruddin's death, Balban proclaimed himself king, doing away with the custom of consultation among the Turkish officers which had been practised since the time of Alptigin's conquest of Ghazni. Balban reorganized the much weakened government, introducing strict discipline and an intelligence system. He also brought much pomp and pageantry to his court in Delhi: colourful costumes, royal processions and solemn ceremonies. He always dressed and behaved in a manner calculated to impress the local people, visiting dignitaries and his own officers with his authority. It is said that during his twenty-two years of rule he was never seen laughing or without his turban or shoes, even in his own bedroom.

Balban crushed the Rajput chiefs of the Gangetic *doab*. He garrisoned the military outposts with Afghan troops rather than Turks and cut down jungles to open roads between all the posts. In AD

1281 he crushed a rebellion by the governor in Bengal, and punished the rebels severely. He appointed one of his sons as the new governor with a warning that he would meet the same fate if he dared to rebel.

Balban tried to undo some of the damage inflicted on the Punjab, particularly Lahore, by the Mongols. He ordered the Lahore Fort to be rebuilt and the towns and villages of the Punjab to be repopulated, and he appointed superintendents and architects to restore them. He had many new forts constructed between the Indus and Delhi to repulse a possible Mongol attack on the capital. Balban appointed his eldest son as governor of Multan and Sindh. This prince had some success in keeping the Mongols at bay, but he was killed in a skirmish with them near Multan.

Death of Balban

The old Sultan's heart was broken. He realized that without his son, the centralized monarchy which had been built up with such care was bound to dissolve again, as it had at the death of Iltutmish. Nevertheless, Balban kept up all the pomp and show of his reign until his death in AD 1287.

Balban's eighteen year old grandson succeeded him, but was too inexperienced and undisciplined to cope with the job. He was murdered after three years by the aged leader of the Khilji officers, Jalaluddin. With the death of Balban's grandson, the Slave Dynasty came to an end. It was not really Jalaluddin, however, but Balban who had put an end to the Slave Dynasty.

The Turkish officers were bound together only by ties of personal loyalty. They grasped every opportunity for the exercise of personal initiative and the realization of personal ambition. These were excellent qualities for conquering the northern subcontinent. But they became hindrances to the consolidation of united and stable Muslim rule in the subcontinent.

Iltutmish had considered himself simply as the leading Turkish officer. Nevertheless, he sought to broaden his power base by seeking legitimacy in the eyes of the Muslim *ulema*, Sufi orders and civilian bureaucrats as well as with the Turkish officers. Razia Sultana's attempt to defy the opinion of the Turkish officers had been popular in Delhi but it had ended tragically. Although he was a Turkish slave himself, Balban set out to awe the populace as a whole and to break the

power of the Turks in the army by giving more status to the Afghan troops and to other foreigners who continued to flee from the Mongols in great numbers.

Thus, it was the efforts of Iltutmish and Balban which transformed the loose confederation of the Turkish slave officers into the monarchy of the Delhi Sultanate. Both men were broken hearted at the deaths of their only capable sons. But in spite of these misfortunes, the foundations which they laid with such care for permanent Muslim rule in the subcontinent proved firm.

In general, the rulers of the Slave Dynasty left the feudalism of the countryside untouched, simply replacing some uncooperative chiefs with Turkish or Afghan officers and increasing the revenue demand. Thus the economic life of northern India was not much affected by the arrival of the small number of Turkish rulers. The present-day Pakistan area was much more affected by the ravages of the Mongols who destroyed some of the old feudal centres, thus encouraging the arrival of Baloch and Afghan tribal peoples. And, throughout the subcontinent, the cultural and spiritual lives of the people were changed drastically and irreversibly during the era of the Slave kings.

Saints, Sufis and Scholars

Muslim saints and scholars had begun under the Arabs. Populations which had been largely Buddhist, such as those of Central Asia and the present-day Pakistan and Bangladesh areas, very quickly and enthusiastically rallied to the call of Islam.

Sufism first became important in Iran around the tenth century. It was a reaction to the worldliness which had followed the rapid success of Arab expansion. The Sufis lived simple lives away from society. They took seriously the Islamic teachings about the equality of all men. They believed that God was everywhere and tried to reach Him through meditation and love. The early Sufis' methods of meditation were probably influenced by the Hindu and Buddhist traditions of asceticism, or self-discipline, still remaining in eastern Iran.

The ideas of the Sufis were welcomed in Sindh and the Punjab, with their traditions of Buddhist asceticism and rejection of the caste system. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many merchants, Sufis and scholars came to Multan and Uch through the Khurram, Tochi and Gomal Passes. Many towns in this area became flourishing

centres of both Sufism and trade. There was always a close connection between the Sufi saints and the Muslim craft and trade guilds. Many important Sufis had originally been merchants or artisans, and many of them preferred to receive cash gifts from merchants rather than be dependent upon revenue grants from government officials.

The first important Sufi centre or *khanqah* in the subcontinent was established at Multan by Shaikh Bahaud-din Zakariyya. He brought the Suhrawardi order of Sufism to the subcontinent. The Suhrawardis were zealous in converting Hindus to Islam. Shaikh Bahaud-din Zakariyya, who took Iltutmish's side in his struggle against Qubacha, received from Iltutmish the title of *Shaikul Islam* (Leader of Islam).

The second Sufi order to establish *khanqahs* in the towns conquered by the Ghurids was the Chistiyya order which originated in a village called Chist near Herat, in Afghanistan. Khwaja Muinud-din Chisti was born in Sistan around AD 1141. He came to Lahore and finally settled in Ajmer. By his death, in AD 1236, Chisti *Khanqahs* had been established in many parts of the Delhi Sultanate. His successor was Baba Farid Shakar Gunj, the first great poet of the Punjabi language. Baba Farid settled in Pakpattan.

From Sindh and the Punjab, Sufism spread to the rest of the subcontinent. Sufism and Islam in general influenced the Bhakti Movement of Hinduism, and increased that movement's popularity among Hindus. Until now, Hinduism had managed to overcome all threats, both external and internal, to its supremacy. But it was obvious that Islam, with its insistence on the Oneness of God and the equality of all believers, could never be absorbed into Hinduism, with its many gods and rigid caste system.

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The Later Delhi Sultanate

Jalaluddin Khilji (AD 1290-6)

Jalaluddin Khilji was a distinguished general and the governor of the Punjab during Balban's reign. He had spent much of his life fighting against the Mongols and he was also an experienced administrator. But Jalaluddin Khilji was an elderly man when he came to the throne and was by nature kind and trusting. Therefore he could neither control his officers, nor repulse the increasingly serious Mongol raids.

Some of the Mongols had converted to Islam and were called 'neo-Muslims'. Jalaluddin tried to make peace with them by awarding them lands and giving his daughters in marriage to the Mongol chiefs. But the Mongols continued their depredations, burning Gakkar villages and ravaging the area around Lahore.

Jalaluddin appointed his nephew, Alauddin Khilji, as governor of Kara, south of Kanauj. Alauddin began to raid and plunder the nearby unconquered Hindu territories. Having successfully invaded Malwa, he set out on a daring raid of the wealthy Hindu kingdom of Deogir, a two months' march south of Kara, through unknown and hostile territory. Alauddin's troops returned victorious and laden with a huge booty. When Jalaluddin travelled to Kara by boat to claim the ruler's share of the loot, Alauddin deposed his uncle and used the wealth to win recognition for his own rule.

Alauddin Khilji (AD 1296-1316)

Alauddin Khilji was a bold, ambitious and ruthless man. He was also an extremely capable ruler. Alauddin's first and most important task was to deal with the Mongols. Shortly after Alauddin came to power, a horde of one hundred thousand Mongols invaded the Punjab.

A major battle took place east of Lahore near the Sutlej and Alauddin's generals drove the Mongols back with great slaughter. Less than a year later, however, the Mongols invaded Sindh and captured Sehwan. Sehwan was recovered and thousands of Mongol prisoners, including their leader, were marched back to Delhi.

Then towards the end of AD 1299, it looked as if the Mongols were launching a serious attempt to permanently conquer the Delhi Sultanate. Unlike their earlier raids, they carried supplies with them, rather than depending upon foraging on the way. They laid siege to Delhi and threw the unsupplied city into an economic crisis.

The Sultan's advisors begged him to make peace, but Alauddin wouldn't listen. 'If I were to follow your advice,' he said, 'how could I show my face, how go into my harem, what store would the people set by me?' So the courageous Sultan gathered his army and proceeded to attack and defeat the Mongols.

Reorganization

Alauddin realized that drastic measures would have to be taken if the entire Sultanate was not to fall into the hands of the Mongols. And the Mongols were not the only danger. Almost as serious was the threat of internal rebellion. Alauddin's first efforts were simply to reactivate Balban's policies. The forts in western Punjab, which had fallen into disrepair, were rebuilt. Balban's intelligence system, to check on internal subversion, was re-established.

Alauddin, however, looked more deeply into the causes of dissent and weakness. He decided to make fundamental changes, not only in the government, but also in the economy. Both to repress local rebels and to resist foreign invaders, a large central army was needed and it would have to be maintained in a state of constant readiness. (More than one hundred years after the Battles of Tarain, the Sultanate's fighting forces had become much like the old Rajputs' feudal levies while it was the Mongol troops who were now swift and disciplined.)

Revenue, both in crops and in cash, was needed for the maintenance of this army. The local rulers, the Turkish officers, leaders, were all guilty of two things: it was they who created the local rebellions, and it was they who consumed the largest share of the revenue.

Alauddin wanted to accomplish two things at once. He wanted to established his authority over all the lands in the Sultanate, and he

wanted to bring more revenue into the centre without hurting the peasants and other common people. Therefore, he cancelled all grants of land which had been made by previous Sultans. The values of the various pieces of land were estimated and new grants were made. But this time a large portion of the land was left under the control of the central government, with all revenue going to the Treasury.

And it was made very clear that the *iqta* assigned to each officer or soldier was not the property of the *iqtadar* but could be taken back at any time. Each officer was allowed to keep only a certain amount of the revenue as salary. The rest had to be forwarded to the central government. Troops would now be paid by the central government instead of by the *iqtadars.*

The amount of taxation was increased to one half the crop, but this increase was to be taken from the Hindu chiefs and headmen rather than from the peasants. Alauddin wanted to reduce the living standards of these local chiefs so that they would be too busy earning their livings to think of making trouble. In this way, Alauddin attempted to reshape the rural economy.

But all these tax revenues flowing into the capital city and being paid to the armed forces in cash led to rising prices, or inflation. Therefore, the urban economy also had to be reorganized. Remembering the scarcities, hoarding and profiteering which had occurred during the Mongol siege of Delhi, Alauddin decided that prices should be set by the Government, merchants should be kept under tight control and necessities should be stored for rationing in case of emergency.

In order to implement all these decisions a large bureaucracy was needed and these officials would also have to be kept under strict control to prevent corruption. Only a ruler with an iron will and an unusual ability to select good officials could manage to keep all these groups—*iqtadars,* local chiefs, merchants and bureaucrats—under the strict control necessary for such a system to work. But Alauddin was just such a ruler.

Sind, Gujarat and Rajasthan

According to the great Sindhi epic *Doda Sumra and Alauddin,* the Sultan sent armies against the Sumras who fought back bravely and preserved their independence. But one of Alauddin's generals destroyed the Sumra capital of Mohammed Tur, so they moved to a fourth capital, Rupah.

Alauddin was more successful in conquering Gujarat and subjugating various Rajput strongholds in Rajasthan, especially Ranthambhor (AD 1301) and Chitor (AD 1303). But barely a month after Alauddin's victorious return from Chitor, the Mongols again marched on Delhi.

Mongols Driven Back

After a siege of two months the Mongols withdrew. In AD 1305 they sacked the countryside around Multan, but they were driven away by the Punjab governor Ghiasuddin Tughluq. Now, for the first time since the Mongols' appearance in the days of Iltutmish, the Delhi Sultanate was able to go on the offensive against them. They were steadily pushed back out of the area which is now Pakistan. Expeditions were sent against the Mongol strongholds at Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar. The cities were ravaged and plundered and the Mongol threat was finally broken.

Southern Conquests

There were also no further serious attempts at internal rebellion for the remainder of Alauddin's reign. Alauddin Khilji was thus able to turn his attention back to the work for which his reign is best remembered: the extension of Muslim power south into the Indian peninsula. In AD 1307, Alauddin's general Malik Kafur redefeated the Raja of Deogir and in AD 1309 he conquered Warangel. He returned with an immense amount of loot, including a huge diamond: possibly the famous Koh-i-Noor. Then a year-long expedition was sent right into the tip of the peninsula. In AD 1313 Deogir had to be reconquered yet again. This time it was annexed and put under the direct administration of Delhi. But the other newly conquered territories continued to be ruled by local rajas as long as they paid an annual tribute.

Alauddin's Death

Alauddin suffered through a long illness which made him irritable and robbed him of his former good judgement. He allowed his trusted general Malik Kafur to dominate him completely and to turn him against his eldest son. Alauddin's death in AD 1316 was followed by several years of confusion until the Muslim nobles called upon

the Punjab governor, Ghiasuddin Tughluq, to occupy the Delhi throne. This he did in AD 1320.

Culture

For almost a century, men of culture had been fleeing Mongol depredations to settle in the subcontinent. And by this time, several generations of Muslim scholars and writers had been born and educated in the subcontinent itself. Now Alauddin's conquest of southern India added a third ingredient to the development of a mature and rich Muslim culture. Attracted by the unprecedented prosperity of the Sultanate's cities, many artists and musicians migrated from the south. Fortunately, the Muslim intellectual community was ready to welcome them and make full use of their skills and talents.

Arabic, Persian and Indian music had been interacting since the earliest days of Islam, but now great Muslim artists like Amir Khusrau set out to develop the subcontinent's own Muslim art forms. Amir Khusrau is said to have invented the sitar by combining the Persian *tanpura* with the south Indian *vina*. The south Indian drum was altered to create the *tabla*. The Muslim religious songs known as *qawalis* were sung by the Sufis and their disciples and are still very popular today. The *ghazal* form of Persian poetry was introduced into Urdu.

The centre of spiritual life in Delhi at this time was the *Khanqah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya who had been a disciple of Baba Farid. Along with many distinguished members of the court, including the great poets Amir Khusrau and Hasan, the majority of the Muslim merchants of Delhi were followers of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya. Hazrat Auliya also sent missionaries to Gujarat, Bengal and the Deccan.

This was a time of great pride and self-confidence in the Sultanate. Muslim rule had been consolidated and expanded and the Mongols had been beaten back. Since Iltutmish, the Sultans had been too busy fighting for their survival to give much thought to architecture, but now Alauddin planned vast projects. He did not live long enough to realize all of his architectural dreams. But the monuments he has left, both complete and incomplete, are considered to be beautiful specimens of the Muslim architecture of this period; especially the *Alai Darwaza*, one of the gateways to the enlarged *Quwaat-ul-Islam* mosque in Delhi.

Ghiasuddin Tughluq (AD 1320-5)

Ghiasuddin Tughluq's father was a Turkish slave officer while his mother was a Jat. Like Jalaluddin Khilji, Ghiasuddin had been governor of the Punjab before his ascent to the throne. Ghiasuddin had a plaque installed in the Jama Masjid at Multan which read:

> We have fought and defeated the Mongols in twenty-nine battles. For this the title of *Mulk-ul-Ghazi* has been conferred on us by the populace.

A brave general and a capable administrator, Ghiasuddin Tughluq was able to reassert the Sultanate's authority in the Delhi area, Bengal and the Deccan. But he died after a reign of only five years when a hastily constructed pavilion collapsed and killed him in AD 1325.

Mohammed Bin Tughluq (AD 1325-51)

Mohammed bin Tughluq was born in Multan during one of his father's campaigns against the Mongols. Unlike Alauddin Khilji, Mohammed bin Tughluq had received a good education. Like Alauddin, he was ruthless and ambitious. From the very beginning, however, Mohammed bin Tughluq let his bold dreams overrule all practical considerations. Many of his schemes were brilliant, but he insisted upon carrying them out regardless of unfavourable circumstances or of the amount of suffering they caused people.

Daulatabad

Alauddin Khilji had conquered most of the peninsula and Ghiasuddin Tughluq had put down rebellions there and had annexed Warangal and Madura. Determined to consolidate Muslim rule in the Deccan, Mohammed bin Tughluq decided to move his capital south from Delhi to Deogir, which had been renamed Daulatabad. Shifting the government may have been a sensible idea, but Mohammed bin Tughluq insisted that every person residing in Delhi should move south whether he wanted to or not. This policy caused hardship and resentment. Many died on the way. Several years later the scheme had to be abandoned and people were allowed to move back to Delhi.

According to tradition, Mohammed bin Tughluq also ordered the Punjab governor to move the leading families of Multan to Daulatabad, by force if necessary. The governor refused. Mohammad bin Tughluq himself came to Multan, forced the city into submission and decreed

that all its inhabitants should be put to death. The saint Rukn-e-Alam went to the Sultan's court and obtained pardon for the people of Multan.

Khorasan and Tibet

Mohammed bin Tughluq also had great dreams of conquest in the north. He recruited a huge army, paying the soldiers one year's salary in advance, to conquer Khorasan. This overly ambitious plan soon had to be dropped, and the majority of the troops discharged. With the remainder of the army, the Sultanate annexed the Kangra Valley in AD 1337. The army was then ordered to proceed far into the mountains in an effort to conquer Tibet. The rains started, making retreat difficult, and the local mountain people wiped out much of the army before it could return to Delhi.

Famine

In order to keep the nobles happy, Mohammed bin Tughluq's father, Ghiasuddin Tughluq, had reversed many of Alauddin Khilji's policies. He had allowed the *iqtadars* more control over the lands and had lowered the revenue demand. Now Mohammed bin Tughluq decided to reimpose many of Alauddin's policies and to again increase the income of the central government. *The iqtadars* were now given cash salaries and they were not supposed to collect revenue at all. Special revenue collectors would be sent out by the government. The lands were measured and the values of their crops estimated.

Tax rates for the lands in the *doab* between the Ganges and Jumna Rivers were increased. But the rains failed for seven years between AD 1335 and AD 1342 causing one of the worst famines the subcontinent has ever known. The desperate peasants rose in revolt. In spite of the government's efforts to provide relief, there was much suffering and death.

Token Currency

In another effort to raise revenue, Mohammed bin Tughluq decided to issue brass and copper coins stamped with the legal value of gold and silver coins. People were expected to accept the stamped value of the coins rather than the actual value of the metal. This system

of token currency is, of course, used all over the world today. In the times of Mohammed bin Tughluq, however, it was a very new idea.

Mohammed bin Tughluq perhaps had learned of the successful system of paper money being used in China, but the Ilkhans' efforts to introduce token money in the Persian area had been disastrous. So also was Mohammed bin Tughluq's attempt in the subcontinent. Merchants minted false brass and copper coins and then demanded their stamped value in silver from the Treasury. State finances were ruined, the economy was thrown into confusion and the new currency had to be withdrawn after a few years.

The South Rebels

Alauddin had left the local rulers in the place in southern India as long as they paid their tribute regularly. But Mohammed bin Tughluq wanted to rule these territories directly from Delhi. Under Mohammed bin Tughluq the Delhi Sultanate was expanded to the southernmost tip of India, but Mohammed bin Tughluq's attempts to completely eliminate local rule in the south led to more rebellions. The establishment of an independent Sultanate at Madura in AD 1335 was the signal for widespread revolts. Malabar was also independent again by AD 1336. The Hindu rajas in the far south organized a confederacy or alliance. By AD 1336, this alliance had become the powerful Hindu state of Vijayanagar.

By AD 1344, revenue collections in the Deccan had fallen by ninety percent. Then, in AD 1347, the independent Muslim Bahmani Kingdom was set up in the Deccan, with the help of some of the Muslims who remained in the south when Mohammed bin Tughluq shifted his capital back to Delhi.

In the meantime there was also trouble in the northern part of the Sultanate. Bengal became independent in AD 1338. A chief of the Gakkars invaded the Punjab plain in AD 1342 and killed the Sultanate's governor in Lahore. Gujarat and Kathiawar revolted in AD 1347, but the Sultan was able to put down these rebellions and Kathiawar and Cutch were annexed to the Sultanate in AD 1349.

The Sammas

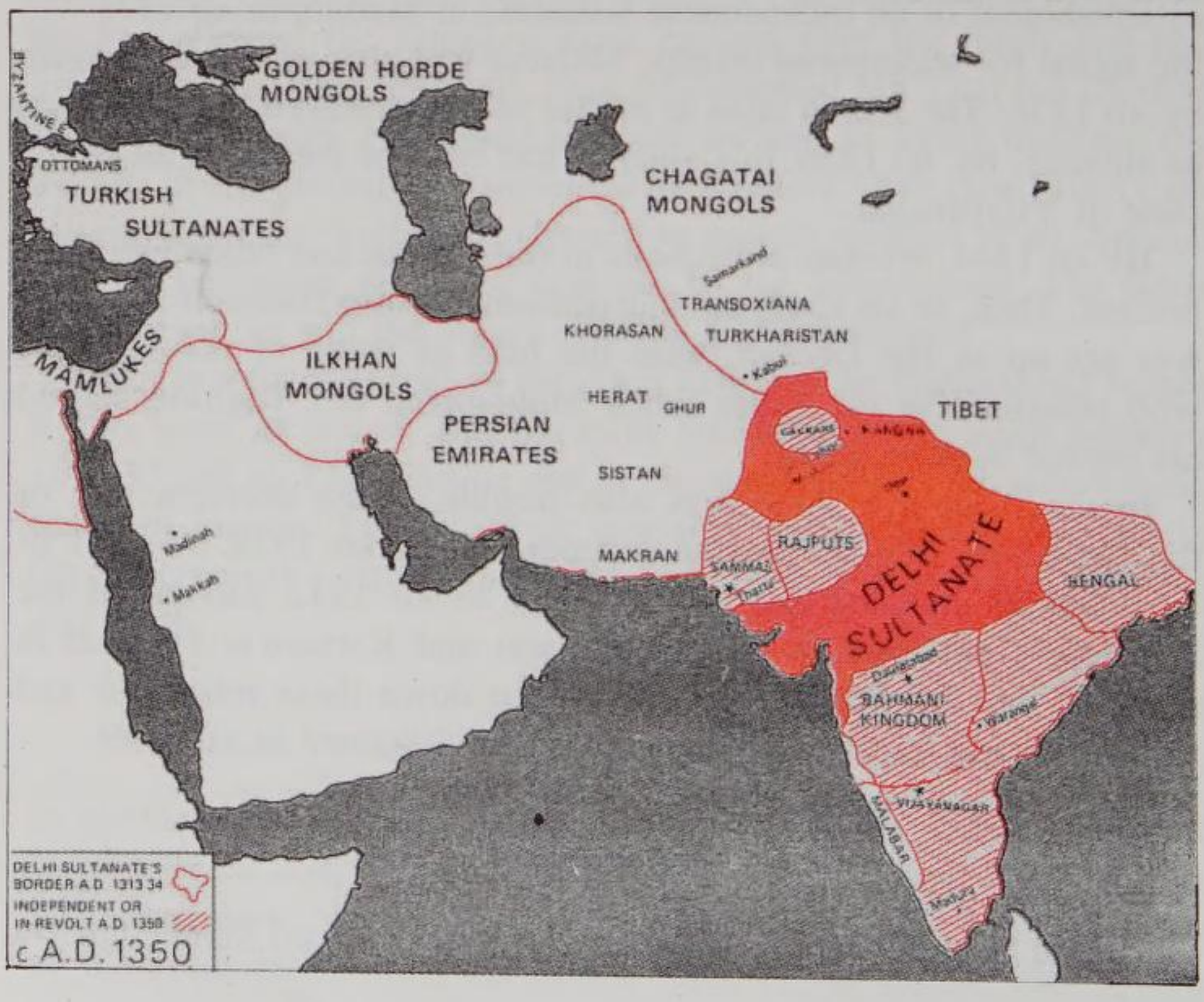
Cutch had formerly belonged to the now much declined Sumra dynasty

of south-eastern Sindh. With the shift of the flow of the Indus water to central Sindh, a new group of Muslim chiefs, the Sammas, took over power from the Sumras in AD 1349. Like the Sumras, the Sammas too may have originally been Rajputs. They had also converted to Islam, but still retained many pre-Islamic names.

The Sammas' capital was Thatta. On the northern tip of Makli Hill near Thatta, is the graveyard where many of the seventeen Samma rulers lie buried. Mohammed bin Tughluq now marched towards Thatta in pursuit of a rebel chief who was being sheltered by the Sammas.

Mohammed bin Tughluq Dies

It was near Thatta that Mohammed bin Tughluq fell ill, some say from eating spoiled fish. He died in AD 1351. The nobles and religious leaders then asked Mohammed's cousin, Firoz Tughluq, to take the throne. One of Firoz Tughluq's first acts was to withdraw the army from Sindh.



Ibn Batuta

One of the main sources of information about the subcontinent during the reign of Mohammed bin Tughluq is the work of Ibn Batuta, a learned and very adventurous Muslim traveller from North Africa. Afghan tribesmen harassed Ibn Batuta on his way from Kabul to the Indus, but he was hospitably received by the Turkish governors who were ruling that area in the name of the Mongols. Ibn Batuta noted that 'a famous city on the river', (probably Udabhandapura), 'was no more.'

When he reached the border posts of the Delhi Sultanate in AD 1337, Ibn Batuta was amazed to find that Mohammed bin Tughluq was already informed of his approach and was willing to give him employment, as the Sultanate was always in need of well educated Muslims. Ibn Batuta undertook inspection tours for the Sultan and was appointed Qazi, or Islamic judge, in Delhi, which he considered to be one of the greatest cities of Asia.

Here he was able to observe Mohammed bin Tughluq and his court at close quarters. He found the Sultan to be a fascinating and complicated man, overwhelmingly generous at one moment and despotically cruel at the next. In general, he found that Mohammed bin Tughluq was extremely intelligent and well educated and a devout Muslim. When Mohammed bin Tughluq sent him on a diplomatic mission to China, Ibn Batuta sailed off in a heavily armed naval vessel to continue his life of travel and adventure.

Firoz Tughluq (AD 1351-88)

Firoz Tughluq is remembered as the Sultan who was most interested in the welfare of his people. The land tax was lowered, old water tanks were repaired and new ones were constructed in the Delhi area. Irrigation canals were dug between the Sutlej and Jumna Rivers. In Delhi an employment office was set up to help people find jobs. Many men were put to work repairing old monuments and building mosques, colleges and whole new towns.

In order to please the nobility and religious community, Firoz Tughluq made land assignments fairly permanent and granted small plots of land to religious men and soldier-settlers. But while allowing the nobility more power over their assignments, Firoz tried to counterbalance this power by acquiring great numbers of loyal slaves:

about 180,000 of them. Firoz Tughluq encouraged gifts of slaves, expected them as birthday presents and accepted them in place of revenue. He had many slaves trained in the various crafts and employed in huge royal workshops making objects for the use of the court and army. They also worked on the many construction projects.

Firoz Tughluq was not interested in conquest. The Deccan remained independent, divided between the Muslim Bahmani Kingdom and the Hindu Vijayanagar Kingdom. An expedition to Bengal resulted in the official submission of the ruler there, but Bengal remained basically independent.

An expensive campaign in AD 1361 to punish Sindh for its rebellion against Mohammed bin Tughluq would have been completely unsuccessful without the help of the saint Jahanian Jahan Gashst who arranged a compromise. The Sammas officially submitted and sent one of their princes to Firoz Tughluq's court in Delhi. Sindh continued to be basically independent but, from then onwards, it retained closer contacts with Delhi and with Muslim India in general. When this 'hostage prince' eventually became the fifth Samma ruler, he was the first native ruler of Sindh with a Muslim name.

Firoz's policies led to the weakening of the central government. Like other long-lived rulers (such as Iltutmish and Balban), Firoz had the misfortune of seeing his eldest son die before him. After Firoz Tughluq's death at the age of eighty in AD 1388 there was great confusion. In the decade following his death, eight different Tughluq kings occupied the throne in turn, while the authority of the Sultanate continued to shrink.

During the weak reign of Mahmud, the last Tughluq sultan, the Gakkar chief Shaikha managed to establish an independent kingdom in the Punjab, and even held Lahore for some time. One of Mahmud's ministers, having repressed some rebels in Oudh, became the first Sharqi king of Jaunpur.

Decline of the Mongols

By AD 1335 the Ilkhan Mongol rulers in Persia had become puppets in the hands of their Persian governors or Emirs, and the realm of the Ilkhans soon broke up into small Emirates. The descendants of Kublai Khan in China were very corrupt, and the disgusted Chinese threw them out in AD 1368 and founded their own Ming Dynasty. The Khanate of the Golden Horde continued to rule Russia, but not

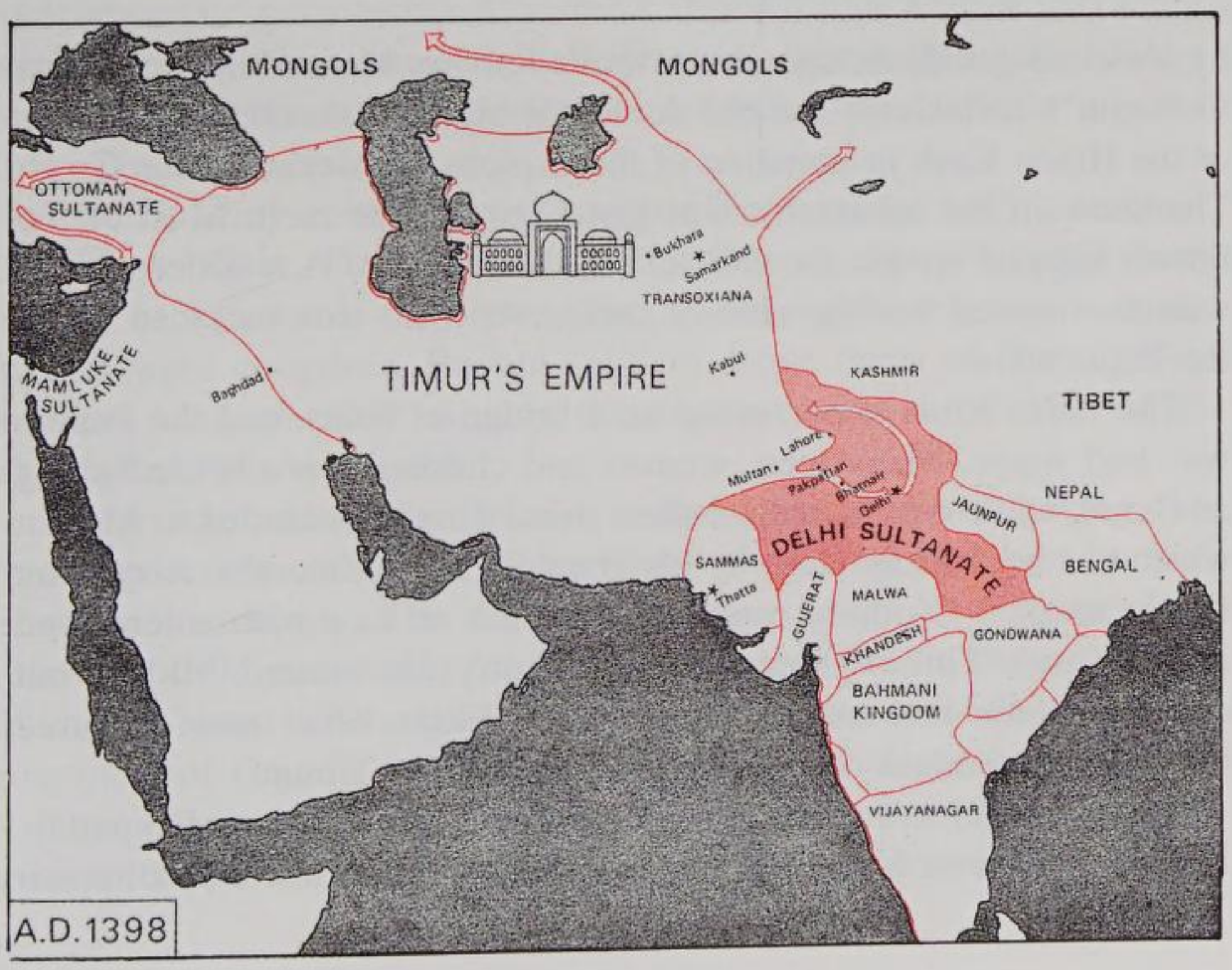
without constant fratricide warfare between would-be Khans.

In the Central Asian Chaghatai territories, fratricide warfare had been common from the very beginning of Mongol rule. Some of the Mongols there had converted to Islam, some to Lamaistic Buddhism, and others to Nestorian Christianity. Still others retained their old pagan ways. The Turkish population of the area, however, was all Muslim.

The Mongols usually allowed the Muslim religious leaders and merchants to manage the affairs of the towns of Transoxiana in peace. By AD 1320, this area was virtually independent of the Mongols and was ruled over by various Turkish chiefs. In AD 1369, after many years of jostling for power, a young Turk named Timur got himself recognized as the Grand Emir of Transoxiana.

Timur

Timur, the son of a minor chief, had been raised as a devout Muslim. As a young man he received a serious leg wound which resulted in a permanent limp. After this he was called Timur Leng (the lame) which became distorted in the West to Tamerlane. After ten years of consolidating his rule in Transoxiana, Timur began a thirty year



struggle to realize his great ambition; he wanted to be a Muslim Chingez Khan and to conquer all of the Mongol Empire for Islam.

Timur's career was a curious combination of destruction and construction. He organized his army on semi-Mongol lines, but relied on Muslim religious leaders to administer his towns. Again and again he put down rebellious Persian Emirs with the same wholesale destruction and ruthless slaughter as that used by Chingez Khan. But everywhere he showed his respect for Muslim men of learning, and before a beautiful piece of architecture was destroyed, sketches would be made of it, so that an even more magnificent structure could be built in his beloved capital of Samarkand.

More savage then the Khwarizm Shah, more cultured than Chingez Khan, Timur reminds us most of Mahmud of Ghazni, who also carted off treasures and herded craftsmen home to build his glorious capital city. But Timur's conquests overhadowed Mahmud's and were second only to those of Chingez Khan. After devastating Persia into submission, and destroying the power of the Golden Horde in Russia, Timur invaded the subcontinent in AD 1397.

Timur's Invasion

One wing of Timur's army, commanded by a grandson, was sent southwards from Kabul towards Multan. Another wing, commanded by a second grandson, was sent towards Lahore. Meanwhile, according to Timur's historians, the old daredevil himself attacked the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush in imitation of the exploits of Alexander the Great. The snow in the mountains was just beginning to melt. Most of the horses slipped on the ice snd fell to their deaths. A wooden sledge was constructed for the elderly conqueror who was lucky to reach the Indus alive.

The Indus River was crossed on a bridge of boats, and the Punjab was laid waste. Many men, women and children were herded along as slaves, while others fled for their lives. Timur proceeded to Multan which had been under siege by his grandson for six months. According to one account 'Nothing eatable not even a rat or a mouse remained in the City'. Timur plundered the countryside around Multan but did not attack the fort as its governor Khizr Khan now declared himself independent of Delhi and a tributary of Timur.

The Timurid army now marched towards Delhi via Pakpattan. Halfway between Multan and Delhi, the fortified town of Bhatnair

attempted to resist the invaders. Ten thousand persons were massacred before the town was plundered and burned. And even greater slaughter occurred near Delhi when Timur decided that the slaves were so numerous that they presented a danger. He ordered all slaves to be killed, and it is said that as many as one hundred thousand people lost their lives within a few hours.

Timur at Delhi

Outside the walls of Delhi, Mahmud, the last Tughluq Sultan, attempted to defend his capital. He used war elephants, fire throwing implements, and rockets tripped with iron which burst when they hit the ground. But Mahmud Tughluq soon fled and Delhi opened its gates to the conqueror. Timur mounted the throne of Delhi, accepted the homage of the governors and courtiers, and had his name read in the Friday prayers. He then ordered a great celebration, but the Timurid troops were already plundering the city while its citizens tried vainly to protect their families and homes.

In the course of the struggle Delhi was practically destroyed. Many of those who were not slaughtered were enslaved. Private soldiers took possession of as many as one hundred and fifty slaves each while officers claimed thousands. Timur reserved the stone masons and other construction workers for himself as he intended to build a mosque in Samarkand modelled on the great *Quwaat-ul-Islam* mosque of Delhi. It took more than a century for Delhi to recover from Timur's invasion.

Timur's army continued to slaughter and plunder until it reached the Ganges River. There, the increasingly hot weather pursuaded them to turn back towards the Indus. The slaves, cattle and wagon loads of loot were countless. Private soldiers drove herds of four to five hundred head of cattle. Among the captives were the Gakkar chief Shaikha and his son Jasrat.

Timur returned to Samarkand to build his mosque, leaving the former governor of Multan, Khizr Khan, to rule the Punjab and upper Sindh as his deputy. The defeated Tughluq Sultan now returned to rule what little remained of the Delhi Sultanate but, in the confusion following Timur's invasion, the Sultanate continued to fall apart. The governors of Gujarat and Malwa now assumed independence.

Timur died in AD 1405. At this point the Delhi Sultan sent a force to recapture Multan, but it was defeated by Khizr Khan near Pakpattan.

At Timur's death, Jasrat Gakkar regained his freedom, returned to the Punjab and re-established the Gakkar state. After a four year struggle among the descendants, Timur's youngest son Shah Rukh gained control over the core of the Timurid Empire, including the NWFP area.

After Mahmud Tughluq's death in AD 1413, the nobles chose an Afghan chief, Daulat Khan Lodi, as the new Delhi Sultan. But Khizr Khan defeated him, occupied Delhi and proclaimed himself Sultan.

Khiljis and Tughluqs—Summary

The Delhi Sultanate reached its greatest extent and highest degree of centralization under Alauddin Khilji (AD 1296-1316) and during the early years of Mohammed bin Tughluq's reign (AD 1325-51). Men of religion and culture gathered in Delhi from the farthest reaches of both the subcontinent and the Muslim world. After AD 1335, however, the Sultanate began to break up again, and most of Mohammed bin Tughluq's attempt to cope with the situation only provoked more rebellion.

Firoz Tughluq found it necessary to undo most of his predecessor's policies. This pleased the nobles and eased the burden on the peasants, but it left the subcontinent weak and disunited. After Firoz Tughluq's death there was great confusion which meant that Timur could successfully invade the subcontinent as far as the Ganges in AD 1397-8, leaving Delhi practically destroyed. More provinces declared their independence after Timur's invasion. Khizr Khan, the governor of Multan at the time of Timur's invasion, occupied Delhi and founded the Sayyid Dynasty.

17

Regional Kingdoms

The Sayyids (AD 1414-51)

Khizr Khan claimed to be descendant of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). Therefore, he and his three sucessors were known as the Sayyid dynasty. Under the Sayyids, the power of Delhi continued to dwindle. The present NWFP area, west of the Indus, remained under the Timurids and was ruled from Kabul.

Khizr Khan's son, Mubarak Shah, spent much of his reign trying to defend Delhi against the Gakkar ruler Jasrat who was growing stronger. Around AD 1420, Jasrat is said to have defeated the army of Kashmir and participated in the selection of the new Kashmir ruler, the great Zain-ul-Abidin (AD 1420-70), who was a patron of literature, music and art. (Islam had been introduced into Kashmir from Swat in the early fourteenth century and Kashmir had been ruled by Muslims since the middle of that century.) The Gakkars were never successful in conquering Delhi, but they were never subdued.

This second Sayyid ruler also had to defend Multan against the Timurid governor of Kabul. Multan was attacked by the Timurids in AD 1429. A great battle raged in the suburbs at the place where Eid prayers are now held. At the crucial moment, reinforcements arrived from Delhi, and the scales were turned against the Timurids who then fled the area.

During the reign of the third Sayyid ruler, Multan became independent of Delhi. The Punjab governor at this time was Bahlul Lodhi. He was able to establish his authority in eastern and central Punjab and thus became as powerful as the Sayyid Sultan. But he was unsuccessful in his attempt to subdue Multan. Northwest Punjab remained under the Gakkars.

Langah Dynasty of Multan

After several years of vitual anarchy, the people of Multan decided to elect their own ruler. They chose the guardian of the shrine of Bahauddin Zakariyya, but the power was soon seized by a wily Afghan chief, Sarha Langah, who founded the Langah Dynasty of Multan.

The Sammas of Sindh

On Makli Ridge, five kilometres south-west of Thatta, we can still see portions of the old brick walls of the Kalankot fort, dating from the fifteenth century. This fort belonged to the Samma rulers, whom neither Mohammed bin Tughluq nor Firoz Tughluq had been able to subdue. The Sammas' most famuous ruler was Jam Nizamuddin. He came to the throne in AD 1439 and reigned for nearly sixty years.

Another famous Sindhi of this period was Jam Nizamuddin's Prime Minister and Commander, Dulah Darya Khan. He repulsed the Arghun Mongols of Kandahar when they attempted to invade Sibi, which was then a province of Sindh. Dulah Darya Khan lost his life in this war and earned the title Martyr of Sindh. His beautifully preserved tomb can still be visited in the Makli Hill graveyard. At this time there were close cultural and trade relations among the independent Muslim kingdoms of Multan, Sindh, Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh. Gujarat was not only a centre of arts, crafts and Muslim learning, but also a major power in the area. Gujarat waged successful wars with the Ranas of Kathiawar and the Rajput chiefs, and it annexed Junagadh. It was also strong enough to intervene in the affairs of Sindh, Malwa, Khandesh and even the Deccan.

Sayyid Dynasty Ends

The domain of the third and last Sayyid ruler, Alam Shah, did not extend much beyond Delhi. People made fun of him saying *Badshahi-i-Shah Alam Az Delhi Ta Palam;* 'The kingdom of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Palam.' (Palam, about sixteen kilometres outside Delhi, is now the site of Delhi's airport.) In AD 1448 Alam Shah retired to his private lands, and shortly afterwards, the nobles invited the powerful Afghan governor of east and central Punjab, Bahlul Lodhi, to take the Delhi throne.

Lodi Dynasty (AD 1451-1526)

Bahlul Lodi managed to re-establish the Sultanate's authority in much of the northern subcontinent. In AD 1479 he reannexed the state of Jaunpur, but Bahlul Lodhi continued to be unsuccessful in his attempts to reconquer Multan. Eventually, he recognized Husain Langah (AD 1456-1502) as Sultan of Multan.

During Hussain Langah's thirty-three year reign, the territories of Multan were expanded to include Shorkot, Chiniot, Kot Kahror and Dinkot. These areas were settled by large numbers of Baloch tribesmen who migrated from the Sibi area. Sultan Husain Langah of Multan died in AD 1502. After his death, the leading chiefs retired to their own territories leaving Multan's centre weak.

Balochistan

The Baloch people still sing of the mighty deeds of Mir Chakar Rind, who organized a confederacy of Baloch tribes stretching from the Makran coast to the present-day Marri areas southeast of Quetta. Sibi was the capital of this confederacy. At Sibi one can still see the fort where Mir Chakar Rind defeated the Sammas of Sindh. But it seems that in order to maintain his independence from Sindh, Mir Chakar Rind had to formally submit to the Arghun Mongols of Kandahar.

The Baloch ballads also tell of a civil war between the two leading Baloch federations, the Rinds and the Lasharies, which destroyed the Sibi state. The early years of the sixteenth century saw a great migration of Baloch tribesmen from the Sibi area to southern Punjab and especially to the Multan area where they were welcomed by the aged Husain Langah. Mir Chakar Rind died in the Punjab in AD 1511. The Baloch who settled in the Punjab lost contact with tribal life in Balochistan, but they would be a powerful factor in the early days of the Mughals.

Frontier

The Yusufzai tribe came into conflict with a Timurid ruler of Kabul who crushed the tribe's leadership. The Yusufzais then migrated from their home in the Kabul area through the Lamghan Valley to Hashtnagar (Mardan District), and later (around AD 1485) to Swat and Bajaur. At this time many Swatis were driven eastwards into

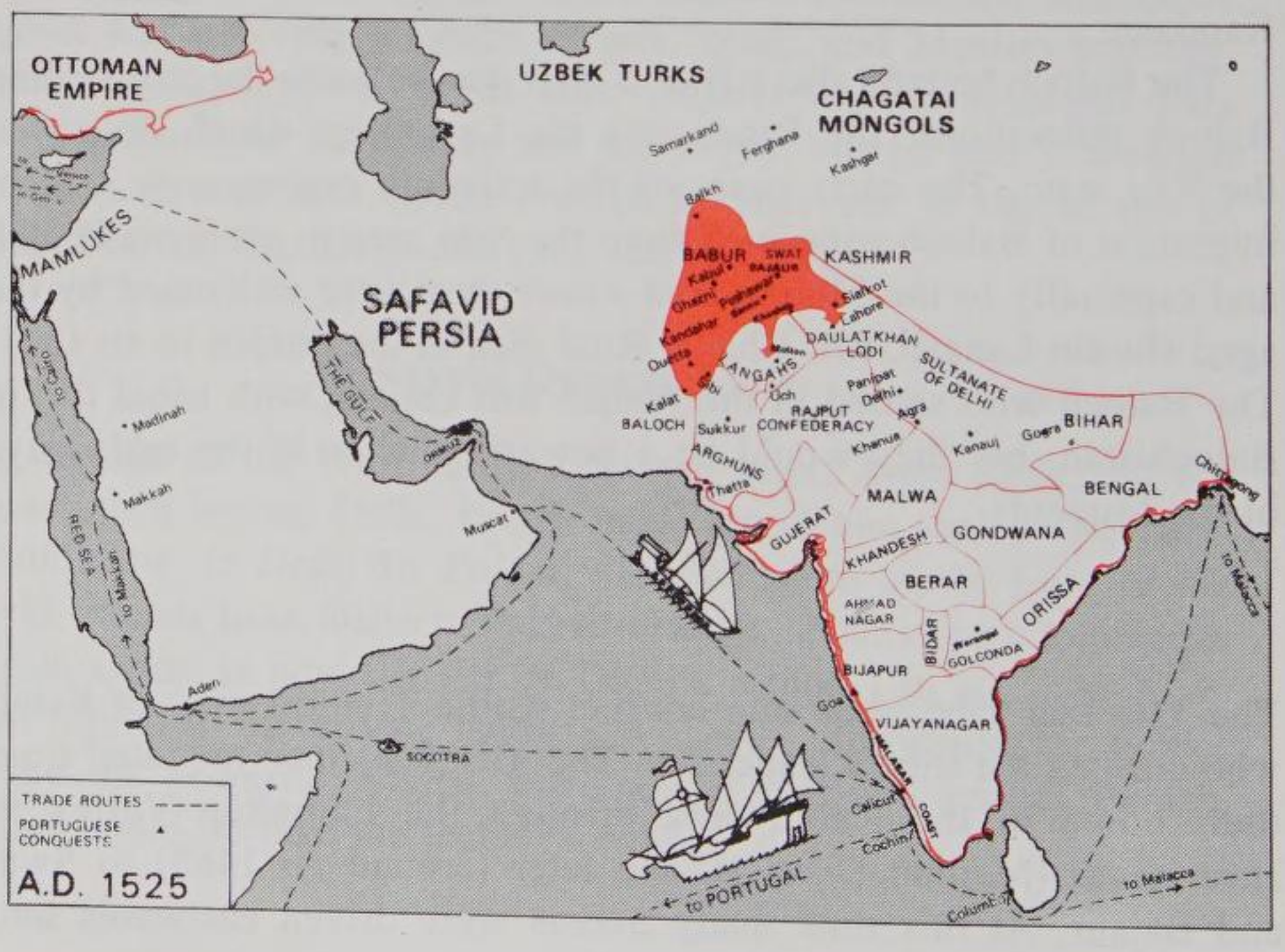
northern Hazara, where their descendants are still to be found today, calling themselves Swatis.

Rajputs

The second Lodhi Sultan, Sikander Lodhi, shifted his capital from Delhi to Agra in order to better defend the Sultanate against the Rajput Confederacy which had become its most dangerous enemy. The Rajputs of Mewar built a powerful confederacy in present-day Rajputana. Under their ruler Rana Sanga (AD 1509-27) the Rajputs continued to grow in strength until they were the most powerful force in the nothern subcontinent.

Bengal

Far to the east was Bengal, which had been independent since the middle of Mohammed bin Tughluq's reign. Culture and trade both prospered, and Bengal maintained close relations by sea with China, Persia and Arabia. The Arab-born Hussain Shah and his son Nusrat Shah (AD 1493-1433) were the most famous rulers of Bengal. They both patronized Islamic architecture as well as Persian and Bengali literature.



Bahmani Kingdom

The Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan, having been founded by Muslim nobles who revolted against Mohammed bin Tughluq, was organized along the same lines as the Delhi Sultanate. The kingdom was divided into four provinces. The governor of each province had the power to appoint officials, command an army and collect the revenue. Thus it was difficult to control the governors or the other officers who were also assigned *iqtas* for their support.

Many Persian and Arab scholars, poets and statesmen came to the Bahmani Kingdom by sea. Local people, both Muslim and Hindu, also attained important positions. Some of the ministers were Hindus. while most of the governors were local Muslims. The nobles at the court were divided into two rival groups: the Deccanis (local Muslims) and the foreign nobles (Turks, Arabs and Persians).

The Bahmani Kingdom waged constant warfare with its neighbours, especially the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar on its south. The two kingdoms fought for control of the *doab* between the Krishan and Tungabhadra rivers, and the important port of Goa. In AD 1422 the Bahmanis conquered the hindu kingdom of Warangal.

The Bahmani Kingdom reached its height during the time when Mahmud Gawan was its minister (AD 1463-82). Under Mahmud Gawan, the Bahmani territories reached their greatest extent. The minister tried to reduce the powers of the governors in many ways, including the division of each province into two. Therefore, the Deccani nobles presented the Bahmani Sultan with false evidence against Mahmud Gawan, and the minister was beheaded.

The minister's death, followed soon afterwards by the death of the Sultan, brought about a period of confusion. The later Bahmani Sultans were puppets in the hands of the Deccani governors who one by one assumed independence. By AD 1527, the old Bahmani Kindgom had broken up into the five Sultanates of Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda.

As in the northern Muslim kingdoms, Islamic architecture, literature and music continued to flourish in the smaller states. But the disunity of the Sultanates tilted the balance of power in favour of the Hindu Vijayanagar Kingdom to the south.

Vijayanagar

Under its most capable king, Krishnadeva Raya (AD 1509-29), Vijayanagar reached the height of its power and prosperity, and the *doab* was reconquered. Krishnadeva Raya welcomed the Portuguese traders just as earlier rulers had welcomed Arab traders. The Portuguese seized the port of Goa in AD 1510 and were gradually taking over control of international trade from the Arabs. The kingdoms of the Indian peninsula depended upon sea trade to bring much needed horses. They were also accustomed to collecting a large amount of revenue in the form of taxes on foreign trade, so most of them were happy to see the arrival of a new trading group on the Indian coastline.

The Portuguese

The Portuguese had first appeared on the west coast of India in AD 1498. It was in this year that Vasco da Gama arrived at the port of Calicut, the most powerful of the many small but prosperous principalities along the western (Malabar) coast of India. The Portuguese said that they had only come to trade, but immediately made themselves unpopular by refusing to pay the harbour fees.

The Calicut ruler's fleet forced the next Portuguese expedition to leave the harbour, but only after the Portuguese had bombarded Calicut. Calicut then allied itself with Khoja Amber, (a wealthy Red Sea trader), Gujarat and the Egyptian navy to drive out the Portuguese. Partly because of Gujarat's last minute support for the Europeans, however, the Portuguese could not be chased from the Indian Ocean.

The main aim of the Portuguese was to break the Egyptian-Italian monopoly on the spice trade. Until this time, Arab traders had shipped the spices up the Red Sea to the Mediterranean where they were sold to the Italian merchants of Venice, who in turn sold them throughout Europe at very high prices. To block this route, the Portuguese seized the island of Socotra at the entrance to the Red Sea. They also built a fortress on the island of Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

Their first base on the Indian coast was Cochin, but as this was too near the powerful fleet of Calicut, the Portuguese decided to seize the island of Goa, midway between the two naval powers of Calicut and Gujarat. After doing this, the Portuguese captured the port of Mallaca in the East Indies in AD 1511. This was the most

important source for spices. When reporting these accomplishments, the Portuguese Viceroy in the Indian Ocean expressed his hope that, from now on, spices would not reach Venice through Cairo or Makkah but would instead be transported around Africa to Portugal.

Economy under the Lodis

In the early years of Mohammed bin Tughluq's reign, merchants from Persia and Khorasan had owned great mansions in Delhi. And in AD 1533 Ibn Batuta had reported that the port of Larri Bunder near Thatta in Sindh supplied a significant amount of revenue to the treasury of the Delhi Sultanate. But now, the Delhi Sultanate was just one of many feudal kingdoms jostling for power in the subcontinent.

The reduced size of the Sultanate and the constant state of rebellion throughout most of the Lodi domains discouraged overland trade. And the independence of Sindh, Gujarat, the Deccan and Bengal meant that the Delhi Sultanate was landlocked and excluded from direct participation in sea trade.

Timur had already carried off as much precious metal as he possibly could, and the isolation of the Sultanate from international trade meant that no precious metals were arriving in payment for exports. Therefore, the Afghan rulers tended to hoard what little gold and silver they had, and there was a great scarcity of coins under the Lodis. The Lodis modelled their few coins on those of the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur (whom they had subdued in AD 1479).

The scarcity of coins was a further discouragement to trade. It also meant that there was no currency for paying salaries in cash. The Afghan nobles had to maintain themselves and their troops with the produce of the lands assigned to them. It was in any case Lodi custom to rule more as a tribal confederacy than as a centralized government. Each noble was allowed to rule his assigned lands pretty much as he pleased. The Lodis, like Firoz Tughluq, also liked to give small grants of land to religious leaders and scholars.

When Sikander Lodi's son Ibrahim Lodi tried to assert more authority over his Afghan nobles, they promptly went into revolt. Daulat Khan Lodi, at that time governor of the Punjab, invited Babur, the Timurid ruler of Kabul, to invade the subcontinent.

Culture

The reduction of the size, power and wealth of the Delhi Sultanate, however; did have a very important positive affect in encouraging the spread of Islamic culture throughout much of the subcontinent. Under the great sultans, Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khilji, and Mohammed bin Tughluq, Delhi had been a strong magnet attracting religious leaders, scholars, writers, poets and musicians from all over the subcontinent as well as the Muslim world. In Delhi, as in the older Muslim cultural centres of Lahore, Multan and Uch, the Islamic culture of the subcontinent had developed and matured as the result of interaction between many great minds.

Now all the newly independent Muslim states tried to compete with Delhi and with each other in making their capitals cultural centres of the Muslim world. The rulers wanted to attract famous scholars, artists and saints. They were willing to support these people and to finance ambitious building projects. Therefore, this period of disunity led not only to a diffusion of Islamic culture, but also to the development of local languages, and local schools of music, architecture etc. Urdu, using Hindi grammar, Hindi, Arabic and Persian vocabulary, and a Persianized Arabic script, was born in the northern subcontinent and flowered under the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. The Sufis of the Punjab created Punjabi poetry.

Religion

This period saw the culmination of the great interaction between the two major religions of Islam and Hinduism. This interaction had continued unabated since the arrival of the first Muslim traders on the Indian coast. Among the Hindus, the challenge of Islam provoked various reactions. Just as Muslim rulers patronized Muslim religious leaders along with their *khanqahs* (Sufi centres) and Madrasah (religious schools), the Hindu rulers, such as the Rajputs in the north and the rajas of Vijayanagar in the south, were also active defenders of the Hindu religion. The Brahmins often became even more fanatical about their caste system.

But other Hindus tried to reform their religion so that it could continue to compete with Islam for the adherence of the masses. The Bhakti Movement, which had begun in peninsular India, partly in reaction to the Islam of the Arab traders, now spread to northern

India as well. Mirabai, a princess from Rajasthan, Surdas, a blind poet from Agra, and Chaitanya, a school teacher from Bengal, all spent their lives preaching *Bhakti* or love for Lord Krishna. Other *Bhakti* saints preached worship of one God under other names.

Ever since the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate, there had been constant interaction in the northern subcontinent between the Yogis (Hindu mystics who preached worship of one God under the name of Vishnu, and took their mystical practices mainly from Tantric Buddhism), and the Muslim Sufis (who had much earlier learned methods of meditation from Central Asian Buddhists). By the fifteenth century, this interaction had resulted in the flowering of Sufi poetry in the various regional languages.

It also resulted in the efforts of saints like Kabir (AD 1440-1518) and Nanak (AD 1469-1539) to overcome the divisions between Islam and Hinduism. Although the sects developed by their followers were gradually absorbed into Hinduism, the original preachings of these men have relevance for both Muslims and Hindus. Like the Sufis, Yogis and Bhakti saints, they preached the Oneness of God. They also attacked the Hindu caste system and all forms of unnecessary ritual.

Nanak

At Nankana Sahib, about twenty-four kilometres south of Lahore, there are two Sikh temples. One of them, *Janamasthan,* is said to mark the place where Nanak was born in AD 1469, the son of a village accountant. The second temple, *Bal Lila*, commemorates Nanak's childhood. It is said that Nanak was educated by a wealthy and childless Muslim and that he studied both the Muslim and Hindu scriptures. As a young man, Nanak worked as a minor official in Sultanpur where the Beas River joins the Sutlej.

Soon, however, Nanak gave up his position to travel widely, visiting both Muslim and Hindu shrines and conversing with religious men everywhere. According to tradition, Nanak made the pilgrimage to Makkah twice. In the temple of Janamasthan is a cloak which the Caliph at Baghdad is supposed to have presented to Nanak. Nanak gathered the works of various religious poets including Kabir and Baba Farid, the Chisti Sufi who lived during the reign of Balban.

Eventually Nanak settled in the village of Kartarpur north of Lahore on the right bank of the Ravi. He was now known as a *Guru,* or

religious teacher, and continued to preach until his death in AD 1539. Nanak himself was a poet as were several of his religious successors. The religious poems and teachings of the various *Gurus,* together with those of the earlier Sufi and Hindu poets, were compiled in the *Granth* which became the scripture of the Sikh religion.

Although the two religions of Islam and Hinduism were far too irreconcilable to ever really merge, teachers like Guru Nanak helped spread the belief in the Oneness of God among the non-Muslim as well as Muslim masses in the subcontinent.

18

The Coming of the Mughals

Babur

> In the month of Ramazan, in the year AD 1494 and in the twelfth year of my life, I became King of Ferghana.

Thus writes Babur at the beginning of his memoirs, one of the most honest and charming autobiographies ever written. The young Babur inherited the small kingdom of Ferghana in Turkestan from his father, who was a direct descendant of Timur. He also inherited his father's dreams of reconquering Timur's empire and ruling from Samarkand. Babur's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Kashgar and a descendant of Chaghatai, Chingez Khan's son.

The boy ruler was driven by great ambitions, but surrounded by treacherous enemies: his own relatives and the Uzbeg Turks. Babur was at first guided by the advice of his wise old grandmother, but it was not long before she died and left him on his own. Within a few years Babur had won and lost Samarkand and had been driven from his own kingdom of Ferghana as well. He was a fourteen year old King without a kingdom, and 'could not help crying a good deal', according to his memoirs.

But Babur did not waste too much time feeling sorry for himself. Early one morning, when the people of Samarkand began to wake up, they rejoiced to find Babur and his small band of men entering the city victoriously. Before dawn a few of Babur's men had climbed the walls of the city and opened the gates to the young conqueror. Later that year, however, the Uzbeg Turks laid seige to the city and Babur had to flee Samarkand once again and resume his life as a homeless wanderer.

In AD 1504, Babur managed to drive the Arghun Mongols from the Kabul-Ghazni area, which had been his uncle's kingdom. He admits to having inflicted great damage on his new domain by his first

efforts at raising an impossible amount of revenue from the area. Once he realized how little his new kingdom actually produced, he decided to invade 'Hindustan'.

First Invasions

This project was launched in AD 1505, when Babur marched through the Khyber Pass and subdued the Afghan tribesmen at Kohat and Bannu. Eid was celebrated on the banks of the Gomal River, and the west bank of the Indus was explored as far south as Dera Ghazi Khan. Babur's men were bitterly disappointed in loot which consisted only of sheep and bullocks, and their horses were in terrible condition by the time they turned west towards Ghazni. They rested in Ghazni before returning to Kabul.

In AD 1507, Babur marched from Kabul to plunder the Khilji tribesmen of south-east Afghanistan. He continued south as far as Kalat in Balochistan, where Babur restrained his men from plundering the caravans of the Hindustani traders. Instead, they collected a tax from them before attacking the Arghuns in Kandahar. Even as they marched northwards again, Babur's garrison at Kandahar was being defeated, but an attack on the Kalash people of Kafiristan was successful.

Not long after this, we find Babur fleeing for his life once more, this time from a conspiracy in Kabul. Babur found a powerful patron in the new Shia ruler of Persia, Shah Ismael, who killed the Uzbeg Khan, Babur's worst enemy, in AD 1059. With Persian aid, Babur conquered Samarkand for the third time. The Uzbegs soon recovered from the loss of their leader, and they reapplied pressure on Samarkand. The Sunni citizens of Samarkand did not support Babur, after he had accepted Shia patronage so AD 1515 found Babur once more in Kabul, renewing his plans for conquest in the subcontinent. Between AD 1515-19, Babur reoccupied Kandahar and Kalat.

Arghun Rule in Sind

Babur drove the Arghun Mongol ruler, Shah Beg Arghun, into Sindh. By this time the great Samma ruler of Sindh, Jam Nizamuddin, was dead. His son, Jam Firoz, was no match for the Mongols. Shah Beg Arghun built a fort on the island of Bhakkar (between present-day Sukkur and Rohri) in the Indus River. With this as his headquarters,

Shah Beg Arghun set out to conquer Sindh. In AD 1520-1 the Samma capital of Thatta was occupied by the Arghuns and Jam Firoz fled to Gujarat. Arghun rule, which lasted until AD 1555, re-established Sindh's cultural links with Persia.

Frontier and Punjab

In AD 1519, Babur attacked the Yusufzai fort of Bajaur with the help of new muskets (ancestor of the rifle) which the defenders had never seen before. The men of Bajaur, whom Babur described as heretics and infidels, were put to the sword, while the women and children were made prisoners. From Bajaur, Babur marched against the Yusufzai Afghans of Swat.

Near Swabi, on the way from Swat to the Indus (not far from today's Tarbela Dam), Babur and his men hunted rhinoceros. They crossed the Indus river at Hazro, north of Attock, floating their baggage across on rafts. The local people presented Babur with an armed horse as a symbol of their submission. The Haro River was also crossed and Babur wondered whether the name 'Hazara' meant that either the Mongols or Timur had left a thousand men stationed in this region. But he could find no trace of their descendants.

Babur and the army camped overnight at Margalla Pass, which Babur knew as Sangjani; a nearby village still bears this name. Here a few Gujers who had been following the army were rounded up and beheaded. Another day's march took the invaders across the Soan River and on through northwest Punjab towards Khushab on the Jhelum River. Coming through the wild and empty country of the Salt Range, Babur suddenly beheld the Kallar Kahar Lake. He found the sight so refreshing that he ordered a garden to be laid out overlooking the lake.

Encamped in the hills above the Jhelum, Babur summoned the headsmen of Behreh and negotiated the rate of tribute. He also accepted the submission of the Baloch tribesmen who had settled in this area. Then he sent an envoy with messages for Daulat Khan in Lahore and Ibrahim Lodi in Delhi stating that he had come to reclaim the Timurids' former territories. (The messenger was detained for five months in Lahore before being sent back to Kabul without an answer.)

Gakkars

Babur and his friends took several pleasure trips down the Jhelum before returning to Kallar Kahar Lake for an inspection of the new gardens. Here Babur decided to make a surprise attack on the Gakkar stronghold of Pharwala Fort, north-east of Sihala in Rawalpindi District. Most of north-west Punjab was under the control of the Gakkars, and Pharwala Fort, about twenty-two kilometres from present-day Islamabad, was their main headquarters.

Leaving two of his officers in charge of the camp, Babur set off about breakfast time with a body of light troops.

> About afternoon prayers we halted and fed our horses; and set off again about night-time prayers. Our guide.... was a Gujer. All night long we proceeded straight on our course, but halted towards morning and sent on Beg Muhammed Mughal towards their camp. When it was beginning to be light we again mounted, and about luncheon time, put on our armour and increased our speed.... Pharwala, which stands high in the midst of deep valleys and ravines, has two roads leading to it.

There are now paved roads on which one can drive the one hundred and fifty kilometres from Kallar Kahar to near Pharwala Fort in several hours, all the time imagining what it would be like to gallop with Babur through the night over rough and ravined countryside.

The Gakkar chief fought the Mughals outside the south gate but was driven inside. The Mughals entered the fort with him and he had to escape out of the north-west gate. The defeated Gakkar chief sued for peace, and Babur in turn recognized Gakkar rule over the Potwar Plateau. From this time onwards, the Gakkars were staunch supporters of Mughal rule.

When the main body of troops had arrived, Babur marched westwards, perhaps, across the present-day Islamabad area, and through the Margalla Pass. In the Peshawar area he admired the flowers, hunted tigers and examined a ruined monastery before returning through the Khyber Pass to Kabul.

Yusufzais and Afridis

The Yusufzais were one of the most powerful of the Frontier area tribes. Even a marriage between Babur and a Yusufzai lady of Swat did not ensure their loyalty. It was not long before Babur was again marching through the Khyber Pass on another expedition to chastise

the Yusufzais in the Hashtnagar area. The tribesmen fled, but their grain crop proved to be only a quarter of what was expected. Therefore, Babur discarded his plan of building a fortified grain depot in Hashtnagar and decided instead to plunder the Afridis of Bara, whose rice crop had not yet been lifted from the field, and to leave a garrison at the Peshawar Fort which could then be used for grain storage.

Sialkot and Lahore

After this, Babur conducted several more expeditions east of the Indus to punish rebellious tributaries, and according to his own account, to exterminate Afghan nobles (settled in great numbers in the Punjab under the Lodis) to the relief of the overtaxed peasants. The inchabitants of Sialkot submitted to Babur's rule during his third expedition into the subcontinent.

Meanwhile, various rival members of the Lodi family (who had earlier ignored Babur's messages) were sending him urgent requests to help them overthrow Ibrahim Lodi in Delhi. Babur made an alliance with Daulat Khan Lodi against the Sultan of Delhi. In AD 1524-5 Babur's army, in alliance with Daulat Khan Lodi, plundered and burned Lahore and then advanced eastwards across the Sutlej. But upon hearing claims that Daulat Khan Lodi and at least one of his sons had begun to conspire against him, Babur returned to Kabul.

Here he received yet another Lodi, Ibrahim Lodi's brother Alauddin. At this point Babur had to march northwards to defend his interests in Balkh, but he sent orders to his garrisons in the Punjab to assist Daulat Khan and Alauddin Lodi in an attack upon Delhi. Daulat Khan and Alauddin Lodi did march on Delhi with forty thousand men, but this first attempt was defeated by Sultan Ibrahim.

Final Invasion

Babur's fifth and final invasion of the subcontinent took place in AD 1525. He advanced with twelve thousand men, taking time in the Peshawar area to flush a rhinoceros out of the jungle and try to make it fight with an elephant, for the amusement of his son Humayun. Daulat Khan had meanwhile changed sides and announced his determination to resist Babur's advance.

After reconquering the Sialkot area from Daulat Khan, Babur complained that every time he had 'entered Hindustan, Jats and Gujers

have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes.' A few of these troublemakers were captured and executed before Babur's troops proceeded to take Pasrur.

Daulat Khan's forces, which were camped on the bank of the Ravi near Lahore, took fright and fled. Daulat Khan and one of his sons surrendered to Babur. Scouts now reported, however, that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was marching north with a huge army to meet Babur. Capturing various fortresses along the way, Babur and his allies continued towards Delhi.

First Battle of Panipat

The two armies took up positions near Panipat, and the great battle took place in April, 1526. In Babur's opinion, Ibrahim Lodi's army 'marched without order, halted or retired without plan and engaged in battle without foresight'. Babur's much smaller force on the other hand had the advantage of loyal troops, excellent cavalry and the latest weapons: guns, both cannons and muskets.

Just as Mohammed Ghuri had defeated the large but feudal forces of the Rajputs at the Second Battle of Tarain in 1292, Babur soon defeated Ibrahim Lodi. By evening the Sultan of Delhi and fifteen thousand of his men lay dead on the battlefield. The next day Babur was proclaimed Emperor of Delhi. Seizing the treasures of Delhi and Agra, Babur distributed rewards to his close followers and to the Afghans, Arabs, Baloch and others in his army.

Permanent Rule

As a direct descendant of Timur, Babur considered the Delhi Sultanate to be his birthright. Unlike Timur, Babur intended to consolidate his rule there, although neither he nor his descendants ever gave up the dream of ruling from Samarkand. Now Babur had to deliver a lecture in economics to his homesick Central Asian followers. He explained that it wasn't enough to seize the treasures of Delhi and Agra and return to the pleasant climate of Kabul. Babur told them that empire and conquest could not be acquired without the materials of war: that royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces. He stated that Hindustan's three assets were: a large area, an abundance of gold and silver and an innumerable number of skilled workmen of every profession and trade.

Battle of Khanua (AD 1527)

Babur had yet to meet the strongest ruler of northern India: Rana Sangha of Mewar, the head of the Rajput Confederacy. At first the Rajputs thought of Babur as just another raider who would leave northern India to them after destroying Lodi power. When Babur showed no signs of returning to Kabul, Rana Sangha marched against him with a huge army. Babur met the Rajputs at Khanua, a village near Agra, and defeated them.

Babur was now the dominant power in the northern subcontinent and distributed provinces among his followers, including those Rajput and Afghan nobles who submitted to his rule. The Gakkar chiefs, who had contributed considerably to Babur's victories at both Panipat and Khanua, were confirmed in their rule over the Potwar Polateau, and their territories were extended eastwards to the Chenab River.

Babur now ordered work to be started on a road from Kabul through Labore to Agra. A post house for six horses was to be constructed every twenty-six kilometres along the road. Some two thousand stonecutters were employed on these and other construction projects, including the rebuilding of the fort at Peshawar.

Multan and Gogra

After a siege of fifteen months in AD 1526, the Multan Fort had fallen to the Arghun rulers of Sindh. Almost everyone who had survived the long privations of the siege was then massacred. It is said that the Arghuns did not even respect the sanctity of the Muslim shrines, and that these were plundered and set on fire. In AD 1526 the people of Multan, under the leadership of the former commander of the Multan army, rose against the Arghun governor. Once the Arghuns had been driven out, Multan submitted to Babur's governor of the Punjab.

In AD 1529, Babur fought and won his last major battle at the River Gogra where he defeated the Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal who fought under the leadership of Ibrahim Lodi's brother Mahmud.

Babur's Death

Babur was not always satisfied with his eldest son's behaviour, and sometimes wrote him scolding letters lecturing him not only on the duties of a ruler, but even on the art of letter writing. Nevertheless,

Babur loved his son dearly. Once, when Humayun had arrived unexpectedly at Agra, Babur wrote in his memories:

> I was just talking with his mother about him, when in he came. His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds and made our eyes shine like torches.

On another occasion, according to the historian Abul-Fazl, Humayun had been away from Agra for several months when he was brought back in the last stages of fever. The doctors were powerless to do anything for him. Babur, who had also been suffering on and off from fever, now walked three times around Humayun's bed praying earnestly. Then he suddenly exclaimed, 'I have borne it away! I have borne it away!' Abul-Fazl insists that as Humayun recovered, Babur's life ebbed away. Babur died on 26 December AD 1530 at the age of forty-eight.

Babur had led a hard and active life. Near the end of his memoirs he remarks that 'from the seventh year of my age until now, I had never spent two festivals of Ramzan in the same place.' Babur was an educated but unpretentious person. Throughout his life of constant military campaigning his favourite pastime was gardening and his chief delight was in the beauty of nature.

At his own request he was buried by a spring in a garden, on a hillside of Kabul, where 'when the flowers are in bloom, the yellow mingling with the red, I know of no place in the world to compare with it.' People still visit his simple grave.

Humayun (AD 1530-40)

Babur had not had time to consolidate his rule over the northern subcontinent. He left the Hindustani part of his domains to his eldest son Humayun and the Kabul kingdom to his youngest son Kamran, who promptly occupied West Punjab including Lahore. Sher Khan Sur, the most capable of the Afghan chiefs, had meanwhile created a position of power for himself in Bihar. Bahadur Shah, The Afghan ruler of Gujarat, was showing signs of hostility. Many of the Rajput chiefs were still powerful and unsubmissive.

Humayun moved back and forth between his enemies, sometimes fighting bravely and sometimes seeking an escape from his responsibilities in the luxurious court life of Delhi and Agra. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was defeated in AD 1535, but Sher Khan Sur managed

to invade Bengal as well as continue his activities in Bihar. At Chausa, on the banks of the Ganges, in AD 1539, Sher Khan attacked Humayun's troops and defeated them decisively. Sher Khan made himself master of Delhi and assumed the title of Sher Shah Suri. The two enemies met again at Kanauj in AD 1540, but Humayun's troops were so demoralized that they retreated before the first shot was fired.

Humayun fled to his brother Kamran in Lahore. Sher Shah continued to pursue him, so the two brothers had to leave Lahore. When they reached the west bank of the Jhelum at Khushab they quarrelled, and Kamran proceeded to Kabul alone. Humayun fled southwards to join his mother and brother Hindal, in Sindh, where they were guests of the Arghun rulers. Here Humayun saw a young girl Hamida Bano and his mother arranged a marriage. But he could neither persuade nor force the various local rulers in Sindh to help him reconquer Hindustan.

Therefore, he and his wife and followers set out across the Thar Desert to Rajasthan where he hoped to conquer or make alliances with the Rajput chiefs. As they were nearing their destination, Humayun heard news that he was being pursued and turned back into the desert. It was the hottest time of the year and enemies had filled the wells with sand. Fortunately, Humayun was welcomed by the rajas of Umarkot (Tharparker District, Sindh). At Umarkot Fort the baby Akbar was born to the exiled emperor and his sixteen year old wife in August, AD 1542.

Having tried and failed once more to gain a foothold in Sindh, Humayun proceeded towards Kandahar to take refuge in Kamran's territories. Instead of being hospitably received, however, Humayun was attacked. He and his wife had to flee in undignified haste with just a few followers. The infant Akbar was left at the camp and was looked after by a fond aunt while his parents were reduced to eating horsemeat boiled in their soldiers' helmets as they did not even have cooking pots. Humayun finally found shelter in Persia.

Sher Shah Suri (AD 1540-5)

After pursuing Humayun as far as Panjnad, Sher Shah Suri returned to Khushab which he made his temporary headquarters. From here, he sent an emissary to the chief of the Gakkars, demanding his submission, but the reply was insulting. Sher Shah then distributed

territories to those chiefs who did submit to him, including thousands of Afghan tribesmen who had entered the area under the Lodis or with Babur, and the three Baloch chiefs: Ismael Khan, Fateh Khan and Ghazi Khan, the founders of the towns which still bear their names in the Derajat.

The Gakkar territory around Nandana was bestowed on Ismael Khan. Then Sher Shah marched against the Gakkars. A pitched battle was fought at the Gakkar Fort of Rewat (Rawalpindi District). The Gakkar chief and most of his many sons lost their lives in this battle. One of his sons was taken hostage and his daughter was forcibly married to one of Sher Shah's generals.

After Sher Shah had marched eastwards to deal with a rebellion in Bengal, the Gakkar chief's younger brother and successor had a mosque built at the chief's tomb inside Rewat Fort. We can still visit the Fort with its tomb and mosque. It is on the Grand Trunk Road, two kilometres from the Islamabad turning, on the way towards Jhelum.

It is a well-built fort, but small, especially when compared with the remains of the massive Rohtas Fort behind Dina, sixteen kilometres west of the Jhelum at the old pass between the southern plain and the Potwar Plateau. Sher Shah had the Rohtas Fort built to defend his western borders against both the Mughals and the Gakkars. It took ten years to build, but it is amazing that such a monstrous project (it is five kilometres in perimeter) could be completed so quickly, particularly when the Gakkars provided constant harrassment.

Sher Shah's army was unable to subdue Kashmir, but his governor of the Punjab, who was stationed at Rohtas, conquered Pakpattan and marched against Multan. Multan was occupied and the Baloch chief Ismael Khan was appointed governor of Upper Sindh.

Firm Rule

Sher Shah was the son of a minor Afghan chief in Bihar. As a young man he had managed his father's revenue assignment (*iqta*). He had dealt severely with rebel chiefs and village headmen who refused to pay revenue or who took more than their share from the peasants. He used the discontent of the Afghan nobility to gain power, first in Bihar and Bengal and finally over all of Hindustan. Then he continued his strict policies on a larger scale.

Like Alauddin Khilji, Sher Shah Suri once more tried to centralize economic control and break the feudal system. The practice of measuring the land and setting the revenue demand according to the area of land, had been discontinued by the Tughluqs, but Sher Shah revived it. For a few special crops, mainly vegetables, a cash rate was set. On grains and other staples the demand was approximately one third of the crop.

Ordinarily, revenue was required to be collected even when the crops failed. Multan however, had suffered greatly from disorder, so Sher Shah ordered its governor to see that the area was repopulated and to respect local customs. Therefore, the revenue demand there was set at one quarter of the actual crop instead of according to the measured extent of arable land.

Sher Shah also reformed the currency. He replaced the old *tankah* coin of mixed metal (bullion) with the *rupiyah,* set weights for the coins and established new mints.

Sher Shah Suri continued Babur's road-building project as far as modern day Dhaka in Bangladesh, and added branches from Agra to Burhanpur and Marwa, and from Lahore to Multan. The Shahi or Grand Trunk Road still forms a major part of this region's highway system. One section of the original highway, where it diverges from the modern route at the Margalla Pass, is still visible on the left of the present highway between Islamabad and Peshawar.

Death of Sher Shah Suri

Sher Shah Suri was fatally injured by an explosion while storming the Rajput fortress of Kalinjar. On his deathbed he regretted that he had not had time to destroy Lahore. This, in his opinion, was necessary for the defence of the empire from invaders who would always be tempted to raid the great city and use the spoils for further advances. He would also have liked to populate the land between the hills of southern Kashmir and Nandana in the Salt Range with loyal settlers who would raise the alarm at the first sign of invasion.

Sher Shah Suri never underestimated the Mughals. He considered them to be even more dangerous to the subcontinent than Chingez Khan or Timur. Just as Balban and Alauddin Khilji had organized the Delhi Sultanate in order to strengthen it against Mongol invaders, Sher Shah organized his kingdom for defence against the descendants of both the Mongols and the Timurids—the Mughals. Although we

tend to think of his reign, along with those of his Suri Successors until AD 1555, as an interruption in the early days of the Mughal Dynasty, it was Babur and Humayun whom he considered to be the foreign invaders.

In a way, Sher Shah Suri the Afghan can be considered the last and perhaps the greatest of the Delhi Sultans, while his reforms provided the starting point for the administration of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Todar Mal, the extremely capable Hindu administrator, who became very famous in Akbar's time, began his service as Sher Shah's Minister for Revenue. Sher Shah's tomb, which he had built for himself in Bihar, is an excellent example of the Islamic architecture of the Afghan nobles 'who built like giants and finished like goldsmiths'. But his Shahi Highway and his Rohtas Fort are definitely the works of a giant.

Sher Shah's Successors (AD 1545-55)

After a struggle between Sher Shah's two sons, the younger took the throne under the title Islam Shah. He attempted to eliminate those Afghans nobles who had supported his brother, especially the Niazis, who eventually took shelter with the Gakkars. This led to a fierce battle near the Mankiyala Stupa, about eight kilometres beyond Rewat, on the other side of the Grand Trunk Road to Lahore. Sher Shah's son was repulsed and the Gakkars felt avenged for their earlier defeat at Rewat.

Islam Shah at first continued his father's policies and paid all salaries in cash, but later began to award land assignments and grants of land instead. After Islam Shah's death in AD 1553 his cousin Adil left the actual administration of the kingdom to his Hindu minister, Hemu, while another cousin, Sikander, proclaimed himself king in the Punjab. The administration of the country soon fell into confusion.

Sindh—the Turkhans

Like the Arghuns, the Turkhans were a branch of the Ilkhan Mongols of Persia. When the Arghun family died out in AD 1554, two Turkhan chiefs divided the territory of Sindh between themselves, one ruling from Thatta and the other from Bhakkar near present-day Rohri on the Indus. They could not coexist peacefully, however, and one of them requested the aid of the Portuguese to oust the other.

When the Portuguese entered the mouth of the Indus and anchored at the harbour, the chiefs had already made peace with each other. In annoyance, the Portuguese burned and plundered Thatta and the surrounding countryside, slaughtering the population.

Humayun Returns

In the meantime, Humayun had finally persuaded the Shah of Persia to help him, just as the Shah's predecessor had helped his father Babur. With the Shah's aid, Humayun was able to take Kandahar and Kabul from his brother Kamran. Taking advantage of the disorder in the Suri kingdom, Humayun returned to the subcontinent. Humayun and his young son Akbar arrived at Pharwala Fort, near Rawalpindi in AD 1554.

Here Kamran was being held captive by the Gakkars. After his defeat at Kabul, Kamran had attempted to join Sher Shah's successors, but had been arrested by the Gakkars and held for Humayun's judgement. Humayun had by now lost all patience with his treacherous younger brother, who had even exposed the eight year old Akbar on the walls of the Kabul Fort while it was under bomabardment. Humayun ordered that Kamran should be blinded and sent on pilgrimage to Makkah to atone for his sins.

When Humayun arrived at Rohtas Fort, the Afghan governor and his garrison fled without offering any resistance. Humayun then captured Lahore and went on to Sirhind where Sikander Suri came out to meet him, but was defeated. Humayun marched on to Delhi. Delhi and Agra were reoccupied in AD 1555, without further opposition from Adil Shah. But Humayun did not enjoy the throne for long. After only six months the unlucky king fell down the stairs of his library and died in January, AD 1556. Humayun was kind-hearted and well-educated. He was also a brave general, but he lacked the perseverance to win decisive victories.

His loss of the Empire can be partly blamed on the disloyalty of his brothers. But his father had simply not had time to consolidate the kingdom. At Babur's death, the Rajputs, Gujaratis and Afghan nobles were all still very powerful. They proved to be too much for Humayun to control without the cooperation of his younger brothers.

Culture

Humayun's cultural contribution to the subcontinent was the Mughal tradition of painting. The art of painting had been patronized by the Timurids and later by the Safavid rulers of Persia. Humayun, in turn, welcomed these artists to Kabul and then to Agra where they settled down to establish the Mughal School of painting.

Of the sources of information on Humayun's reign, one of the most interesting is the work of Babur's daughter (and Humayun's sister)—the memoirs of Gulbadan Begum.

19

Akbar

The Young Akbar

Akbar was born at Umarkot Fort in Sindh. When his parents were suddenly attacked by Humayun's brother Askari, at Mastung, south of Quetta, Humayun and Hamida Bano galloped off leaving the infant Akbar behind in the camp. Until he was restored to his parents, Akbar was looked after by Askari's wife. Several times during Akbar's early years he fell into the hands of rival family members.

On the last such occasion, the small boy was put out on the walls of the Kabul Fort so that his father Humayun would have to halt his bombardment of that city. After conquering Kabul, Humayun appointed his nine year old son governor of Ghazni. With such an exciting childhood, it is little wonder that the boy Akbar paid little attention to his schoolwork and preferred to go hunting instead.

When Hindustan had been reconquered, Akbar was sent along with the Commander-in-Chief, Bairam Khan, to punish some Afghans in the Punjab. At his father's death in AD 1556, the thirteen year old prince was quickly proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan by his guardian Bairam Khan, but his position was very weak.

Sher Shah Suri's two nephews, Sikander and Adil, felt that they had more right than the Mughals to rule Hindustan. Fortunately for Akbar, they were not united in opposing him. Adil's army was led by Hemu, the very able Hindu minister and general. In October AD 1556, Hemu conquered Agra and advanced upon Delhi with his huge army. The Mughal general, Tardi Beg, was taken by surprise and fled in panic. Hemu occupied Delhi and declared himself ruler of Hindustan under the old Rajput title Raja Vikramaditya.

Akbar was at Jullundur when he received word that the Mughals had fled Delhi. A day later, news arrived that Kabul had revolted. Except for Bairam Khan, all of the nobles urged Akbar to leave the

northern subcontinent to the Hindu minister Hemu, and march back to quell the rebellion in Kabul. Taking a momentuous decision, the teen-aged Akber ordered an immediate advance eastwards across the Sutlej and towards Delhi.

Second Battle of Panipat, AD 1556

In November AD 1556, the Mughal forces met Hemu's army on the historic battlefield of Panipat. An arrow struck Hemu in the eye and he fell unconscious from his horse. Hemu's troops, thinking that their commander was dead, fled in confusion and the Mughal army occupied Delhi and Agra.

For the next four years it was Bairam Khan who actually administered the empire for his young master. But in AD 1560, at the age of eighteen, Akbar decided to take the reigns of government into his own hands, and sent Bairam Khan on pilgrimage to Makkah.

Expansion and Consolidation

Between AD 1561 and 1576 Akbar concentrated on the reconquest and consolidation of the Mughal Empire. He reconquered Malwa (AD 1561), Gondwana (AD 1564), the Rajput kingdoms (AD 1567-76), Gujarat (AD 1572), Bihar and Bengal (AD 1576). During this period of reconquest, Akbar made his first compromise with feudalism. He treated many of the conquered rulers with the dignity of feudal vassals. He allowed them to retain control over their former territories, invited them to attend his court and accepted the hands of their daughters in marriage.

Alauddin Khilji and Sher Shah Suri had attempted to eliminate all local rulers or to reduce them practically to the level of ordinary peasants. But under Akbar and his Mughal descendants, there would always be pockets of virtual feudalism.

One of Akbar's wisest policies was that towards the Rajput chiefs who submitted to his rule. They were treated with respect, appointed to positions of great responsibility and allowed to follow their Hindu religion. Some of Akbar's most trusted officials were Rajputs, (such as the great general Man Singh), or other Hindus, (for instance, the Chief Minister Todar Mal). Many marriages were also arranged between Rajput princesses and various members of the Mughal ruling family.

Akbar's Economic System

Akbar adopted the revenue system which Todar Mal had first developed for Sher Shah Suri. The revenue demand continued to be set according to the measurement of the land, although Akbar allowed areas where crops failed to be subtracted from the total measurement.

The revenue of most of the land was assigned to military officers and other members of Akbar's court. The military officers were expected to provide for their troops with the revenue of the assignment. Each officer was transferred to a different assignment (now known by the Persian term *jagir* instead of the Arabic term *iqta*) every three years to prevent him from establishing himself as a feudal landlord on his assignment.

Part of the empire was again reserved as *Khalsa* or state lands. The revenue of these lands was collected by the emperor's hired staff and sent directly to the royal treasury.

Karori Experiment

The system of assigning lands was very open to corruption. As different localities varied tremendously in terms of agricultural productivity, co-operativeness of the population, and distance from the capital, the officers responsible for assigning lands came to expect bribes in return for good assignments. Corruption led in turn to discontent among the officers.

In AD 1574, Akbar suspended the assignment system in the old provinces of the empire: Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Agra, Awadh, Allahabad, Ajmer and Malwa. For the next five years (AD 1575-80) these lands were managed as *Khalsa* lands, and most government officers or *mansabdars* were paid cash salaries. It is not known whether Akbar was disgusted with the assignment system and was trying to find an alternative system, or whether he was simply collecting data to use later in setting reasonable revenue rates.

In bringing so much land under the direct control of the central government, Akbar was attempting extreme centralization. This reminds us of the efforts of Mohammed bin Tughluq (although Akbar didn't try to enforce his system in the outer regions of the empire and allowed pockets of feudalism even in the old provinces). Like Mohammed bin Tughluq, Akbar failed in this experiment.

The new system, which had the announced purpose of easing the peasants' burdens, extending the area of land under cultivation and

increasing state income, produced the opposite results. The revenue collectors, chiefs and village headmen all oppressed the peasants terribly. Some peasants even sold their wives and children to meet the revenue demand. Many more fled the area. This resulted in more lands lying uncultivated and a fall in revenue.

The Mughal Administration

When Akbar learned of the collectors' behaviour throughout the *Khalsa* lands, he punished them ferociously, reassigned the lands and set fixed revenue rates which remained in force for the rest of his reign. Thus after AD 1580, a balance was achieved in each area of 1) *jagirs* or assigned lands, 2) *Khalsa* or reserved lands (under direct state management) and 3) lands still held by hereditary local chiefs or *zamindars*. In the old provinces there were more reserved lands and the revenue from both the reserved lands and the assigned lands was collected in cash. In the more recently conquered areas there were more local chiefs who enjoyed a fair degree of independence.

This system of Mughal Administration would continue to function for almost two hundred years (AD 1680-1760). It was a compromise between a highly centralized government, sometimes referred to as Asiatic Despotism, and feudalism.

Akbar and Religion

Akbar lived at a time when much intellectual and spiritual interaction was going on between the Muslim and Hindu communities in the subcontinent. Most of this interaction was stimulating and beneficial to both religions.

From the beginning of Akbar's reign he was determined to treat non-Muslims with toleration. In AD 1563 Akbar did away with the tax on pilgrimages to Hindu shrines. The next year he abolished the *jizya* tax on non-Muslims.

Akbar was very interested in religion. He established a Hall of Worship where he could listen to discussions on religious topics. At first only Muslim scholars came to these discussions, but Akbar became so disgusted with their petty squabbles that he began to doubt their authority. This in itself was not a new step since there has always been a strong tradition in Islam reminding men that it is the Quran which is the one true authority, rather than any living person.

In AD 1579, however, Akbar issued his famous Infallibility Decree in which he stated that whenever there was a disagreement among the *ulema,* the emperor would make the decision himself. If Akbar had been referring only to the day to day problems of government, this would not have differed from the actual practice of most Muslim rulers, although its statement in a decree was bound to cause resentment among the *ulema.*

Now Akbar began to take an interest in all religions. Hindus, Jains, Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews were all invited to explain their religions in the Hall of worship. Akbar was especially impressed with the teachings of the Zoroastrians. Then, in AD 1582, Akbar began to accept religious disciples and to consider himself a religious leader. Neither of the two main doctrines which Akbar preached was particularly shocking: that God was one, and that the emperor was His representative on earth.

But Akbar now set about devising many rituals and practices for his followers. Some of these practices were offensive and insulting to Muslims. Thus Akbar had come full circle: he had started by abolishing laws which might be insulting to his Hindu subjects, but he ended by offending and insulting many Muslims. Akbar never forced anyone to follow his religious innovations which had almost no impact outside the narrow circle of his court. By AD 1590, it seems that Akbar had returned to orthodox Islam.

But, unfortunately, Akbar's religious adventurism led to a reaction in the opposite direction. After Akbar, many Muslim leaders and scholars came to feel threatened by any tolerance at all for other religions, or even for the less orthodox interpretations of Islam. They would insist that future Mughal emperors make constant demonstrations of faithfulness to Islam.

Often the easiest way for a ruler to satisfy these demands was to persecute non-Muslims or even the less orthodox Muslims. It is ironic that Akbar's broadmindedness led in the end to narrowminded reaction. This was because he made the grave error of trying to be a religious as well as a political leader. This was not an act of broadmindedness, but of extreme pride.

Pakistan Area

In AD 1580 many of the nobles and religious leaders of Bengal and Bihar revolted, supposedly in reaction to Akbar's unorthodox religious

policies, but also because their allowances had been reduced. Considering this to be a golden opportunity, Akbar's cousin, Hakim Mirza, who ruled Kabul, crossed the Indus and advanced into the Punjab. He failed to capture Rohtas Fort, however, or to gain admission to Lahore. By this time Akbar had advanced to the Sutlej River to meet him, and Hakim Mirza was forced to beat a hasty retreat back to Kabul.

It was around this time that Akbar founded the town of Gujrat (Punjab) on the site of two earlier towns. He built a wall and a fort there and garrisoned the fort with Gujars. The town was at first known as Gujrat Akbarabad. Gujrat soon became famous for its embroidered cloth.

Akbar had sent his general Man Singh to chase Hakim Mirza and now he himself also proceeded towards Kabul. When Akbar arrived at the Indus, in the summer of AD 1581, he had his large army ferried across the river. He and Man Singh went on towards Kabul, leaving orders for a fort to be constructed by the Indus river. Akbar occupied Kabul, appointed his sister as governor, and arranged for an allowance to be paid to the Afridi tribe, in return for keeping the Khyber Pass open, before returning by the same route.

The construction of the Attock Fort took five years. Once it had been built, Hund lost its importance as a river-crossing and Rohtas lost its importance as a frontier outpost.

The Punjab and Upper Sindh had suffered badly during the Karori Experiment, but they soon recovered. Multan continued to be a great religious as well as trade centre, and Sehwan was also an important centre of commerce and industry. In Rohri, one of Akbar's officers erected a mosque (in AD 1583) and had it decorated with beautiful tiles.

For fourteen years (AD 1584-98), Akbar held court in Lahore while he was busy subduing the Frontier, Kashmir, Lower Sindh, Balochistan and part of the Deccan. With the central government stationed at Lahore, much of the agriculture of the Punjab was under direct state control. The *jagirdars* here were also more closely supervised than in the outlying regions of the empire. There were, however, some Rajput chiefs whose *jagirs* in the Punjab had been made hereditary, as well as many local Punjabi chiefs or *zamindars*.

Lahore

In AD 1558 Abul Fazal, Akbar's friend and court historian, had described Lahore as 'a very populous city, the resort of people of all nations and a centre of extensive commerce'. He mentioned one thousand workshops in Lahore for making sheets and shawls.

Akbar established a carpet workshop in Lahore and encouraged the use of Persian and Central Asian designs and techniques in both shawl and carpet manufacture (although these must have already been introduced by the merchants). Akbar also built a new mint in Lahore.

Most of the red brick wall which Akbar had built around the Old City had since been torn down or incorporated in newer buildings, but some of the twelve gates are still standing. And the Lahore Fort, built by Akbar, preserves much of its magnificance. During Akbar's reign, Lahore was a larger city than Agra (which was said to have had a population of about half a million). One European traveller of the time stated that Lahore was second to none, either in Asia or in Europe.

Frontier

The summer of AD 1585 saw the death of Akbar's cousin Hakim Mirza. In recent years Akbar's sister had been no more than a figurehead for Hakim Mirza's continued rule in Kabul. Now Akbar wanted to permanently annex Kabul to his Empire, as it was in danger of being conquered by the Uzbeg Turks. Akbar sent General Man Singh to accomplish this.

Akbar himself spent three and a half months at Attock where the fort was being completed. For the provision of a reliable transport service across the Indus, Akbar brought boatmen from further east and settled them at Attock, where their descendants live to this day. During the dry season, boats could be linked together to form a boat bridge.

According to some accounts, the Khattak tribe was now made responsible for safety on the road between Attock and Peshawar. The *jagirdar* of Peshawar was provided with several forts in the Peshawar plain and charged with keeping the road open to Afghanistan. Akbar had a proper road constructed through the Khyber Pass to Kabul, but the Afridis presently proved unreliable as guardians of that pass. A large Mughal army, under the command of Man Singh,

was trapped in its camp in the Pass by hostile Afridi tribesmen and barely managed to escape.

Roshanaya Movement

The Afridi tribe, as well as the Barki, Aurekzai, and Tirahi tribes, was influenced by the Roshanaya Movment. This Sufistic movement had been founded by Bayazid Ansari who called himself Pir-i-Roshan and wanted to lead people to the light (*Roshni*). The followers of the Roshanaya Movement mostly lived in Tira and Khyber along the well-known routes from Peshawar to Kabul.

Under the leadership of Bayazid's son Jalala, they temporarily became militant and stopped recognizing the Mughals' right to travel through their areas. In AD 1586, the Mohmand and Ghori tribes even attacked and killed the Mughals' *jagirdar* of Peshawar. After several years of struggle against the Mughals, Jalala fled to Chitral where he died in AD 1601. But official revenue rates were never set for the Frontier which remained in a state of almost continuous rebellion throughout most of the Mughal period.

Swat

At the end of AD 1585, Akbar sent two armies out from Attock: one to subjugate the Yusufzais in Buner, Swat and Bajaur, and the other to conquer Kashmir. Both failed. Most of an eight thousand man force was lost in the Karakar Pass in the unsuccessful attempt to invade Swat. After this the Mughals concentrated on controlling the Peshawar plain and two routes to Kabul: one through Peshawar and the Khyber Pass, and the other through the Malakand Pass, Chakdara and Bajaur.

Swat and Buner were left to the Yusufzais, but forts were built at Hund, Malakand and Chakdara to guard this route. At Kar in Bajaur, a three-domed Mughal mosque with a deserted garden and poll give testimony to the Mughals' determination to preserve one of the routes by which Babur had entered the subcontinent.

Kashmir

Communal fighting between different Muslim sects encouraged Akbar to launch an invasion of Kashmir. The first campaign ended in defeat, but was considered a partial success since it resulted in a treaty granting

the Mughal government the right to purchase Kashmir's precious saffron corp. Later, in AD 1586, Kashmir was entirely subjugated. At Srinagar the processed saffron was gathered for shipment to China, Central Asia and the subcontinent. Under Akbar, the Mughal government was the sole trader in saffron and made enormous profits.

At first, very high revenue rates were set for Kashmir. Therefore, when the newly appointed *jagirdars* tried to collect their expected incomes, the peasants rebelled. The *jagirdars* were then ordered to refund to the peasants anything collected beyond one half of the crop, and new revenue rates were set for the future. More than ten years after annexation, however, the Kashmir economy had still not recovered.

The Mughal route to Kashmir followed the ancient trade route through the present-day towns of Wah, Hasan Abdal, Abbotabad, Mansehra and Muzaffarabad to Srinagar. Akbar had a bridge built across the Jhelum to present-day Azad Kashmir and had the gardens laid out at Wah. It is said that the place received its name when Akbar stopped to admire the river and greenery, with the exclamation, '*Wah!*'

Sindh and Balochistan

After the Portuguese sacked Thatta in AD 1554, the city had been rebuilt. But civil war again broke out among the Turkhan chiefs of Sindh. By the time order had been restored, during the third generation of Turkhan rule, Akbar had reconquered his grandfather's kingdom, and the days of independent Sindh were numbered.

Having returned from Attock to Lahore, Akbar instructed his governor in Multan to invade Lower Sindh. When Akbar's army conquered Thatta, the Turkhans tried to destroy the city. After much negotiation and two military expeditions, the area was finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in AD 1692. The Turkhans continued to rule as governors. In newly conquered Lower Sindh, the revenue demand was still set at one third of the crop and not by land measurement.

Thatta, with its port of Larri Bunder, was bustling with international trade, in the hands of local Gujerati, Persian and Portuguese merchants. According to Abul Fazal, many fish were caught in the Indus River near Thatta. They were then 'smoked and loaded in boats, and exported to the ports and other cities, affording a considerable profit'. This, of course, was only one of Thatta's many exports.

Balochistan and Makran were added to the empire in AD 1594. Kandahar, which had been seized by the Shah of Persia a few years after he had helped Humayun to take it, was now given back to Akbar in AD 1595. These additions put the empire in control of two more international trade centres Kalat and Kandahar, as well as the overland trade route along the Makran coast. With the decline of the Uzbeg Turks, the Mughal Empire's northwest border was now safe from the threat of invasion.

Southern India—Battle of Talikota

By AD 1527, the Muslim Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan had broken into five separate sultanates. The Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in the extreme south was at the peak of its power under its great king Krishnadeva Raya between AD 1509 and AD 1529. After his death the strength of the Vijayanagar kingdom also began to decline. The king who ruled from AD 1542 to AD 1570 was little more than a puppet in the hands of his minister Rama Raja. Rama Raja tried to encourage disputes among the five Bahmani sultanates in hopes of keeping them weak and disunited.

When the Muslim sultans realized what was happening, they decided to form an alliance aganst Vijayanagar. The sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar joined forces to inflict a crushing defeat on Vijayanagar at the Battle of Talikota in AD 1565. Most of Vijayanagar's territories were conquered by Bijapur and Golconda. Although the Vijayanagar Kingdom continued to exist, it never regained its former strength or splendour.

After their common enemy had been defeated, the Bahmani sultanates began to fight each other once again. With all this warfare going on, no one seemed to notice that the Portuguese were consolidating their position at Goa and other ports along the western coast of India and that the Mughal Emperor Akbar had become powerful in the north.

The Deccan

By AD 1595, Akbar had rounded out his empire in the northern half of the subcontinent, and was now in a position to begin the subjugation of the Deccan. By this time Berar had been absorbed by Ahmadnagar and Bidar was no longer important. Akbar sent embassies to the rulers

of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda, requesting their submission. When they refused to give up their independence, Akbar began his Deccan campaigns.

As the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was just a young boy, the real power in the Sultanate was wielded by his father's sister, Chand Bibi. She defended her kingdom bravely, refusing to surrender to Akbar's superior forces. But she eventually had to sign a treaty handing over control of Berar to the Mughals in AD 1596. Chand Bibi was murdered by her nobles in AD 1600.

After this, the area north of the Godavari River fell easily into the hands of the Mughals. The last region to be added to Akbar's domain (AD 1601), was the small kingdom of Khandesh on the Tapti River. Its conquest was important, since the road from Agra to the Deccan went through Khandesh.

Akbar's campaigns for the expansion of his empire had been ambitious but practical. He had begun by consolidating his hold on central northern India (AD 1556-76). Then he rounded out his empire in the northern subcontinent (AD 1580-96) before attempting to expand into the Deccan (AD 1595-1601).

Because each newly conquered area was brought as much as possible under the uniform Mughal administration system, more money was collected in revenue from these areas than had been spent in conquering them. Therefore, surplus revenue accumulated in the royal treasury.

Economy under Akbar

In general, the agricultural economy prospered during the last half of Akbar's reign (AD 1580-1605). In the reserved or *Khalsa* lands, the revenue collectors were rewarded for improving their districts, which included about one eighth of the cultivable land of the Empire. In the assigned areas, *jagirdars,* who overtaxed the peasants, were made to return the excess revenue.

The local chiefs, or *zamindars,* dealt with the peasants according to their own local customs, but since they depended upon the prosperity and loyalty of their peasants, they were less likely to over-exploit them than were the temporary assignment holders of the state collectors.

Cash Economy

The vast majority of the population lived in villages. Almost everything used in the village was produced locally, either by the peasant families or by the village craftsmen who were given a share of the crop for their services and were often allotted a small plot of land as well.

Akbar's government made a determined effort to collect the revenue in cash wherever and whenever possible, because the use of cash, rather than the actual produce, made it easier to keep accurate records and to do things according to regulations. When the revenue was collected in cash, the villagers had to sell as much of their produce as possible to the merchants, so that they would have money with which to pay their taxes.

Therefore the peasants started growing crops to sell (cash crops), as well as crops to feed their families. Under Akbar, the government encouraged the peasants to grow certain things like cotton or sugar-cane by setting lower tax rates on these crops.

The peasant families and the craftsmen also tried to produce and sell craft products such as cotton yarn and brown sugar in order to earn more cash. Other products of the present-day Pakistan countryside were salt, which the Janjua tribe had been mining near Khewra in the Salt Range for centuries, and indigo dye.

In the subcontinent, indigo or blueing was used mainly for bleaching new cotton and silk cloth. But in Europe, indigo was coming into use as a blue dye, and was one of the products being purchased by the Portuguese in Gujarat. Between AD 1601 and AD 1607 the Dutch were also trying to buy indigo in Gujarat. The indigo which was exported by the overland route through Central Asia to Europe was called Lahori indigo. We are not sure whether it was all grown and processed in the Lahore area or whether it was simply gathered there for onward shipment.

Trade

The military campaigns which rounded out and secured Akbar's northwestern border, also encouraged a revival of trade between this region and Central Asia. Sher Shah's road, having been extended to Kabul, was improved. Mosques, wells, rest houses (*serai*) and shade trees were set out along the way to provide for those travelling both on state and private business.

Since Akbar's inheritance laws did not allow noblemen to pass on their wealth to their families, the building of *serais* became a fashionable way for the nobility to spend money in hopes of both earthly fame and heavenly reward. According to tradition, the Bara Dari on the Grand Trunk Road east of Attock was built by Akbar's former guardian, Bairam Khan.

This road must have been a great help to trade. At least one large caravan travelled each year between Central Asia and the Mughal Empire, going through Kabul. Some of these proceeded as far as Aleppo on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. From there, goods were transported to Europe. Another important overland route went from Agra through Multan and the Bolan Pass to Kandahar. Many Persian as well as Multani traders travelled with the caravans along this route.

Akbar had reconquered Gujarat in AD 1573, while Bengal, which had been rebellious under both Humayun and Sher Shah Suri, was securely annexed in AD 1576. The Portuguese had by this time firmly entrenched themselves in the trade of Gujarat. Finding that he could not throw them out, Akbar agreed that they could trade if they respected the pilgrim traffic to Arabia. Akbar also admitted the Portuguese to the ports of Bengal.

The reconquest of these ports for the empire, and the addition of the Orissa coast (in AD 1952), were very important for the revival of sea trade. Larri Bunder near Thatta also continued to be an important international seaport, serving the trade network of the Indus River System. Products coming from as far away as Kashmir and Kabul passed through Multan on their way to Thatta and Larri Bunder.

Currency

One of Akbar's first acts was to reorganize the mints, and one of his achievements was the establishment of a single currency system throughout his territories. Coins were minted from three metals: the *mohur* of gold, the *rupee* and *anna* of silver, and the *dam* and *paisa* of copper. Most business, including revenue collection, was carried out with copper *dams*. In the villages and small towns, cowry shells were still in use and the imperial treasuries had storerooms filled with them for use as 'small change'.

Private citizens could bring foreign coins and precious metal to the mints to be made into coins for a small fee. Privately-run banking

houses, which carried on business with the use of promissary notes or letters of credit, called *hundees,* were widespread throughout the empire. They were closely supervised by state officials.

Under Akbar, therefore, the economy prospered. The collection of the revenue in cash encouraged the production of cash crops and crafts products, and contributed to the growth of the class of merchants and money lenders. The merchants had access to major sea and land trade routes. The vast bureaucracy and the wealthy ruling class encouraged the growth of cities and the development of urban production. The government tried to keep taxes and prices as low as possible, and maintained strict control over weights, measures and currency.

Akbar the Great

It is not surprising that Akbar was proud. He was a man of tremendous talents and tremendous achievements. Some historians consider him to have been the greatest ruler in the subcontinent since Asoka. Although Akbar never learned how to read or write properly, he had books read out to him, and since he was extremely intelligent and had a fantastic memory, Akbar became as well educated as any ruler of the time. He loved music, poetry and art and patronized those activities in his court. When the Uzbeg Turks conquered Ferghana, Balkh and Badakshan, many local rulers fled to Akbar's court.

In Akbar's last days, his only surviving son, prince Salim, rebelled against him and tried to set up an independent kingdom in the Deccan. For this reason, some of the nobles felt that Akbar should be succeeded not by Prince Salim, but by Salim's son. On his deathbed, however, Akbar indicated that he wanted Prince Salim to succeed him. Too weak to speak, Akbar beckoned his son to put on the imperial robe and gird himself with the sword of Humayun. Therefore, after Akbar's death in October AD 1605, his son Salim ascended the throne and took the title Jehangir.

20

Jehangir and Shah Jehan

Jehangir (AD 1605-27)

Near the Lahore Fort is the Begum Shahi mosque, built for Jehangir's mother. Jehangir spent much of his youth in the area around Lahore, which was his father's capital for so many years. At his childhood home in Sheikhupura, near Lahore, one of the young prince's constant companions was Abdullah Bhatti, the son of a local tribal chief who had been executed by Akbar. As a young man, the prince lost his heart to Anarkali, a girl in his father's huge harem, and Anarkali lost her life to Akbar's fury. Anarkali's Tomb is in the Anarkali Bazaar at Lahore.

Although Jehangir ascended the throne in Agra, the first challenges to his rule occurred in the Lahore area. Shortly after Jehangir's accession, his eldest son Prince Khusro, whom some of the nobles had favoured to succeed Akbar, fled from Agra to Lahore. Khusro plundered the countryside as he went and laid siege to Lahore. But when he heard of his father's approach, Prince Khusro fled again only to be overtaken and defeated on the banks of the Chenab River. Khusro was blinded and imprisoned. Seven hundred of his followers were impaled alive at Lahore.

Guru Arjan, the leader of the new Sikh religion, was accused of assisting the rebel prince. The Guru and his sons were imprisoned and their property was confiscated. Guru Arjan died in prison. Until this time the Sikhs had not participated in political activities, and they still did not think in terms of controlling territory. But Guru Arjan's son and successor, Guru Hargobind, formed a self-defence force for the Sikhs. From this time onwards, the Sikhs were usually in opposition to the Mughal government.

Jehangir also had to deal with the insurgency of the Bhatti tribe. Abdullah Bhatti had become chief of his tribe and was determined

to avenge the death of his father. After several attempts at negotiation, Jehangir regretfully put down his old friend's insurgency by force.

Jehangir remained fond of the Lahore area throughout his life. Jehangir's Quadrangle is the living quarters which he had built in the Lahore Fort. Jehangir was especially fond of his hunting grounds at Sheikhupura, which he renamed Jehangirabad. Here he built a fort and the Hiran Minar, in memory of his pet antelope. Jehangir also enjoyed hunting in the Salt Range near Baghanwala, where a Mughal gate still stands.

But his favourite place was Kashmir, where he liked to travel each spring, by the Hazara route, to escape the hayfever and asthma which bothered him during this season. The people of Mansehra District remember Jehangir and his wife as if their magnificent royal caravan had last passed by only a few years ago. At Garhi Habibullah, where the road turns east towards Muzzaffarabad, the Empress once suffered from a headache and bathed her eyes in the ice cold waters of the Kunhar River, which, the inhabitants are happy to report, cured her headache. Another spot is named *Attarshisha* because the Empress left her cosmetics behind here, while travelling towards Srinagar.

Meanwhile, west of the Indus, the Roshanaya Movement continued under Jalala's successors. They attacked Peshawar in AD 1613. In Upper Sindh, the town of Shikarpur had become an important centre of commerce and industry, and the starting point of a trade route going to Kandahar through the Bolan Pass. Under the Daudpotas, who were originally weavers by profession, Shikarpur was also a centre of resistance to Mughal rule. Lower Sindh continued to be ruled by the Turkhans as deputies of the Mughal government. But Makran, Kandahar and Ghazni were now disputed areas between the Persian and Mughal Empires.

Nur Jehan

Some historians claim that Nur Jehan should be considered the real ruler of the Mughal Empire during most of Jehangir's reign. Jehangir's love and admiration for his talented, beautiful and ambitious wife are still legendary. Nur Jehan's Persian father and her brother Asaf Khan were also very competent people and were assigned positions of great responsibility in Jehangir's government. Jehangir's third son, Prince Khurram, was temporarily part of this powerful group. He married Asaf Khan's daughter, Mumtaz Mahal.

Expansion

One accomplishment of Jehangir's reign was Prince Khurram's subjugation, in AD 1615, of the last Rajput fortresses in Mewar. The Rana of Mewar sued for peace and his treatment by Jehangir was a continuation of Akbar's policy of friendship with the Rajputs.

The attempts to complete the conquest of Ahmadnagar, however, were less successful. At one point the Mughals even lost the Ahmadnagar Fort, which had been captured during Akbar's reign. Prince Khurram managed to recover the fort and was rewarded with the title Shah Jehan or 'Lord of the World', although the entire state of Ahmadnagar could not be conquered.

In AD 1620 Prince Khurram, now Shah Jehan, won another impressive victory when he captured the Himalayan hill fortress of Kangra.

Intrigues

By this time, Jehangir's luxurious lifestyle and especially his weakness for alcohol had begun to affect his health. Jehangir's forty-three year old wife, Nur Jehan, began to worry about who would succeed him. She decided that Jehangir's youngest son Prince Shahriyar would be the most easy to control. Therefore, she withdrew her support from the universally admired Prince Khurram (Shah Jehan), and married her daughter (by her previous marriage) to Shahriyar.

This provoked rebellion on the part of Shah Jahan. He disobeyed orders to march on Kandahar when it was seized by Persia in AD 1620, preferring to stay near the capital when his father was in bad health. Shah Jehan's rebellion was defeated in AD 1625. But now the Empress felt threatened by the general who had defeated him—Mahabat Khan. When accused of corruption, Mahabat Khan revolted in AD 1626 and captured the Emperor on the road to Kashmir.

With great daring, Nur Jehan rescued her husband, but Jehangir died shortly afterwards in AD 1627. Asaf Khan placed his troublemaking sister under arrest and his son-in-law, Shah Jehan, was proclaimed emperor in Lahore. Shahriyar was arrested, blinded, and imprisoned and Nur Jehan had the good sense to retire from politics. Nur Jehan supervised the construction of her tomb during her eighteen years of retirement.

Culture under Jehangir

Like Babur, Humayun and Akbar, Jehangir was also a highly cultured patron of the arts. The great historian Ferishta wrote mainly in Jehangir's reign. Jehangir's memoirs, though not so famous as Babur's, are also very well written. The Mughal style of painting reached its height under Jehangir. With his passion for accurate observation, Jehangir always took painters along with him to record beautiful or rare objects and animals on the spot. Jehangir appreciated the naturalism of the European portraits and landscapes, which he received as gifts, and encouraged his court artists to learn from them.

Trade under Jehangir

Jehangir had inherited a large, wealthy and well organized empire. His reign was generally one of peace and prosperity. Commerce and the cities continued to thrive. His government contributed to overland trade by greatly improving facilities along the Imperial Highway. For instance, Jehangir had a bridge of boats installed across the Kabul River between Attock and Nowshera. (It is now replaced by a modern bridge.) Mosques, *serais* and distance markers were constructed and wells were dug. Some of these wells were quite elaborate constructions with stairs descending to cool underground shelters and a trough for animals. Such a well can still be seen at Losar, eight kilometres northwest of Taxila. *Serais* from this period are still scattered throughout the Pakistan area. The Begum Serai near Attock Fort may have been built by Nur Jehan.

Overseas trade also flourished. Dutch and English as well as Portuguese traders were now visiting the ports of the empire, including Larri Bunder near Thatta. The English East India Company (founded in AD 1601) and the Dutch East India Company (founded in AD 1602) were both formed with the purpose of capturing some of Portugal's highly profitable spice trade in the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese were now more interested in their South American territory of Brazil and they had become overconfident of their control over the eastern seas. The Portuguese built their ships as large as possible so that they would be able to carry more goods. This made their ships slow and clumsy. For these reasons, Portuguese power declined in the Indian Ocean. The Dutch were able not only to capture all of the Portuguese settlements in the East Indies, (present-day

Malaysia, Indonesia, etc.), but also to prevent the English from establishing themselves there.

The English, finding themselves no match for the Dutch in the East Indies, decided to compete with the Portuguese for the foreign trade of India. In AD 1608 Captain Hawkins arrived at Jehangir's court with a letter from the King of England asking the Emperor for permission to set up a trading post or 'factory' at Surat on the Gujarat coast. Although he was treated with great hospitality, permission was not granted because of greater Portuguese influence in the court. Sir Thomas Roe, however, did manage to obtain such permission after spending three years at Jehangir's court.

Agriculture under Jehangir

In the countryside, Akbar's administrative system was not altered, but during Jehangir's reign it was allowed to become top heavy and corrupt. The number of government officers increased drastically, and almost all of the cultivable land was now assigned in *jagirs.* Since a *jagir* was only held for a few years at a time, the *jagirdar* tried to squeeze out of the peasants whatever he could in the shortest possible time. Peasants often fled from oppressive *jagirdars,* leaving the fields deserted.

Under Jehangir, it became common to give out contracts for the right to collect revenue. When this right was purchased from the central government, the contractor or farmer was only allowed to take the proper amount for that area. But now *Jagirdars* who were busy attending court or who needed cash quickly began to sell their revenue collection rights to farmers. Then the farmer, in order to make a good profit on his investment, would plunder the peasants more ruthlessly than the worst *jagirdar.*

Only a relatively small part of the land was reserved. Moreover, the administration of the reserved lands went to pieces during this reign. Jehangir's government was extravagant and corrupt, so most of the funds accumulated during Akbar's reign were spent during that of Jehangir.

Shah Jehan (AD 1627-57)

Shah Jehan's reign, like that of his father Jehangir, began with a struggle over succession in Lahore. Afterwards, Shah Jehan often

held court in Lahore, which was his birthplace. The mosque of Dai Anga, Shah Jehan's wet nurse, is near the railway station in Lahore.

The Frontier area was relatively peaceful for most of Shah Jehan's reign. The followers of the Roshanaya Movement attacked Peshawar once again, but the movement soon lost its political fervour and continued simply as a religious group. The route between Attock and Peshawar was well guarded by the Khattak tribe, and the leader of the Yusufzais was also on good terms with the Mughal government.

Kashmir suffered from a terrible famine caused by excessive rains in AD 1634. Tens of thousands of starving Kashmiris poured into the Lahore area. The Emperor had relief distributed in both Lahore and Kashmir. The oppressive and corrupt governor of Kashmir was replaced and his policies were revoked.

Expansionist Policy

Ahmadnagar was finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in AD 1633. The Sultan of Golconda accepted Mughal rule when he saw the strength of the Mughal forces, but Bijapur had to be beaten into submission in AD 1636. The eighteen year old Prince Aurangzeb (the third of Shah Jehan's four sons) was now appointed viceroy of the Deccan.

In AD 1637-8, Persia's governor of Kandahar, Ali Mardan Khan, joined the Mughals and surrendered Kandahar to them. With the repossession of Kandahar, Shah Jehan began to dream of expanding his empire westwards into the Central Asian homeland of Babur. Shah Jehan held his court in Kabul for two years (AD 1637-9) and sent a huge army to conquer Balkh and Badakshan. Balkh was finally occupied in AD 1645, but it proved impractical to maintain Mughal rule there and, in AD 1648, the Mughal forces were withdrawn to Kabul.

Skardu (east of Gilgit) was added to the empire in AD 1650, but Kandahar, in spite of great efforts, was lost once more. The wars in the Deccan and Central Asia were extremely expensive and, although Prince Aurangzeb did the best he could, they did not result in revenue producing territories.

Punjab and Sindh

After the death of Guru Hargobind, the Sikhs coexisted peacefully with the Mughals for the rest of Shah Jehan's reign. But Lower Sindh

had become rebellious. Therefore, Shah Jehan sent his own governors to rule in place of the Turkhans. The author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjehani* stated, however, that Sindh had been happier under the Turkhans than under the *jagirdars* appointed by the Mughal government. According to him, Sindh had become 'the land of the forsaken' through the oppression of the *jagirdars.* When *jagirdars* would demand too much revenue from the local chiefs (*arbabs* or *chaudhuries*), the chiefs would rebel.

> In such cases, the peasants always followed them and absconded from their lands, because if they stayed on upon their lands, they had to pay the high revenue demand imposed by the authorities, while the *arbabs* (local chiefs) would come and slay them...the peasants followed the *arbabs* also because they belonged to the same place.

The Deccan

In the meantime, Mughal authority had collapsed in the Deccan under the incompetent governors who had replaced the young Prince Aurangzeb from AD 1644 to AD 1653. Therefore, Aurangzeb was sent back for a second term as Viceroy of the Deccan. He restored order and introduced Akbar's revenue collection system in the newly conquered lands.

Claiming that the Sultan had failed to pay tribute, Aurangzeb invaded Golconda in AD 1656. He was at the point of completely subduing Golconda when orders arrived to stop the campaign. The same thing happened the following year. Aurangzeb invaded Bijapur but was ordered to withdraw his forces.

The instructions came from the Emperor, but were probably issued at the urging of Shah Jehan's eldest and favourite son Dara, who was governor of the Punjab. Prince Dara did not want the wealth and resources of Golconda and Bijapur to fall into the hands of his major rival for succession to the throne.

War of Succession

In September AD 1657, Shah Jehan fell seriously ill and his four sons began to fight each other. After many battles, Aurangzeb was able to occupy Agra, where he imprisoned his ailing father. Shah Jehan remained a prisoner in the Agra Fort until his death in AD 1666 at the age of seventy-four.

Shah Jehan's Reign

Shah Jehan ruled at the height of Mughal splendour. There was no nation like the Mughal Empire anywhere at that time. No city in the world could compare with the Mughal cities, no culture with Mughal culture, no commercial enterprises with those of the subcontinent. The most beautiful buildings, coins and fabrics in the world were being produced in the Mughal Empire. The largest ships, the most powerful armies and the highest levels of production were all to be found here. No European monarch could dream of possessing such wealth as did Shah Jehan, 'Lord of the World'. It was estimated that the task of assessing the value of his jewels alone would take fourteen years of hard work.

Architecture

Mughal architecture reached the peak of its magnificence under Shah Jehan with his passion for white marble and delicate detail. The Moti Masjids in both the Agra and the Lahore Forts, the Hall of Mirrors and the Naulakha Pavilion in the Lahore Fort and the pavilions and fountains of Lahore's Shalimar Gardens are all fine examples of this style of architecture. The most impressive structures were the Hall of Audience with its jewelled Peacock Throne in the Red Fort of Delhi and the Taj Mahal in Agra. The Taj Mahal is the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal, the beloved wife of Shah Jehan, who died at the birth of their fourteenth child. Shah Jehan's beautiful buildings were not all of white marble: the Red Fort in Delhi and the Jamia Masjid outside it; the tombs of Jehangir and Asaf Khan in Lahore; and the great mosque near Thatta with its beautiful tiles and many domes are all handsome, dignified structures.

Other members of the royal family and the Mughal government also participated in the great surge of building which occurred during Shah Jehan's reign. Wazir Khan, governor of the Punjab, was an important figure at Shah Jehan's court. He founded the town of Wazirabad. The Wazir Khan Mosque in Lahore is a unique masterpiece of Mughal art and architecture. Ali Mardan Khan, who surrendered Kandahar to the Mughals, put his knowledge of Persian irrigation techniques to work in building a canal to bring water to Lahore. After its construction, the Shalimar Gardens of Lahore were laid out. Ali Mardan's tomb is south-west of the Gardens and west of the Lahore railway station.

Many of the Mughal monuments in the Peshawar area also date from the time of Shah Jehan. These include Nawab Khan's tomb and the mosque of Mahabat Khan, both governors. Most of the Mughal watchtowers around the old city were built during this reign, and a Mughal gate still stands at Serai Jehanabad, built by Shah Jehan's daughter, Jehan Ara.

Urban Economy

Behind all this magnificence, however, the basic weaknesses of the Mughal system were becoming more apparent. The government and its officers, having bled the agricultural economy almost dry, now became more interested in commerce and industry. The Emperor declared several industries, such as the manufacture of saltpetre (for gunpowder) and indigo (for blueing), to be his personal monopolies. Commerce came to be more and more heavily taxed, both in the cities and along the trade routes in the countryside. Workmen and artisans could be commanded at any time to leave their own work and toil for a government officer at whatever task he chose to set them, and for whatever wages he chose to pay them.

Trade and the cities continued to prosper under Shah Jehan in spite of these pressures, but the position of artisans and merchants was not improving as it now was in Europe. While in the West, the merchants and master craftsmen were becoming more and more important, and were creating mercantile, or trading economies in Europe, the merchants and craftsmen of the Mughal Empire were held back both by the old Hindu caste prejudices and by the increasingly oppressive interference of government officers.

The royal family and other members of the nobility had also become deeply involved in foreign trade. In pursuit of their business interests, they often co-operated closely with the European trading companies. During much of Shah Jehan's reign, his son Prince Shuja was governor of Bengal. Shuja allowed the Portuguese, Dutch and English traders a free hand in Bengal. After arranging to pay only three thousand rupees per year instead of customs duties, the English transferred much of their trade to Bengal, while Portuguese and Arakanese (Burmese) pirates wrecked terror not only along the coasts, but on the riversides as well.

Agricultural Economy

Even Akbar had difficulty in preventing the corruption of the *jagirdari* system and the over-exploitation of the peasants. Shah Jehan attempted to undo the damage inflicted upon the rural economy during his father Jehangir's reign. But the trend towards economic crisis was irreversible. Shah Jehan instructed his officers to look after the welfare of the peasants, upon whose labours the prosperity of the empire depended, but his orders went unheeded and the peasants continued to desert the Mughal lands, fleeing to the territories of rebellious local chiefs.

Most of the government officers were assigned *jagirs* rather than paid a cash salary. Because of the continued mistreatment of the peasants, these *jagirs* were no longer as productive as they had been earlier. The few hundred most influential officers dealth with this problem by obtaining ever larger assignments of land. By AD 1650 the top four hundred and forty-five officers controlled more than half of the revenue of the entire empire. One fifth of the lands and revenue was under the command of the Emperor and his four sons. The thousands of other government officers, expected to meet not only personal but also administrative expenses out of the remaining thirty per cent of the revenue, found themselves going deeper and deeper into debt.

Expansionism

Along with the increasing interest of the government and its officers in commerce and industry, and the concentration of ever larger tracts of land in the hands of a few top officers, a third and very important way of attempting to find more income for the dis-satisfied nobility was expansionist warfare. In spite of Prince Aurangzeb's best efforts, however, the wars in Central Asia and the Deccan did not result in more revenue producing territories. Instead, they were very expensive. The Mughal territories near the combat ones were burdened with the support of the huge armies stationed there, while the lands of the invaded kingdoms were utterly ruined.

Shivaji

The constant wars between the Mughals and the Deccan Sultanates were ruining the Deccan. Three of the five Sultanates had been absorbed by the Mughal Empire, leaving Golconda and Bijapur as

tribute paying states. The region of Maharashtra formed part of Bijapur. The Maratha people were poor and had never had an independent state. But the Marathas' harsh life made them tough, sturdy and self-reliant. Their territory's roughness made it easy to defend.

While the Mughal Empire was reaching the peak of its splendour under Shah Jehan, Shivaji, the son of a small *jagirdar*, was building the kingdom which would be the foremost power in the subcontinent one century later. Shivaji started his career of conquest in AD 1646 at the age of nineteen. He captured some forts along Bijapur's northern border. Then he began to build new forts of his own.

At first, the old and useless ruler of Bijapur took little notice of the young adventurer's activities on his frontier. In AD 1649, however, the government of Bijapur arrested Shivaji's father who was a Bijapur government officer. He was not released until Shivaji had made a promise of good behaviour. Therefore, Shivaji had to stop his raids on Bijapur territory for several years. During this time Shivaji continued to strengthen his position over the many Maratha chieftains who had become powerful because of the weakness of the Bijapur government.

By the time Prince Aurangzeb had returned to the Deccan for his second term as Viceregent, many starving and homeless peasants had become recruits in the Maratha rebellion, led by Shivaji. By AD 1685, Shivaji controlled the whole coastline between present-day Bombay and Goa. This area was known as the north Konkan.

While Shah Jahan's four sons were fighting over the Mughal throne, the Mughal armies were obviously too busy to invade the Deccan, so the Sultan of Bijapur decided that he could safely turn his attention to the destruction of Shivaji. The Sultan sent Afzal Khan, a very tall and extremely strong Afghan officer, to meet with Shivaji. The two enemies grappled withn each other. While Afzal Khan held Shivaji in his wrestler's grip, Shivaji tore open Afzal Khan's stomach with a *baghnakh,* a row of sharp steel claws, which he had concealed in the palm of his hand.

The Maratha troops, who were hiding nearby, fell on Afzal Khan's men and defeated them. After one more unsuccessful attempt to defeat Shivaji, the Bijapur government had to respect his control over the Konkan area.

21

AURANGZEB

After imprisoning his ailing father, Aurangzeb had one brother arrested and executed. Another brother was chased into the jungles of Burma. The eldest brother, Dara, retreated to Lahore where he commanded a considerable following. Dara seized the Lahore treasury and began to raise an army. Dara was soon deserted by his allies, however, both in the Punjab and in the Peshawar-Kabul Province. He was pursued by Aurangzeb to Multan and Bhakkar and then back to Lahore and Delhi, where he was executed on charges of heresy.

The two year struggle over succession sparked off widespread unrest in the empire and particularly in the present-day NWFP area. Throughout Sindh, and much of northern India, the troubles were made worse by a terrible famine which was affecting the region at the time.

The conquest and resettlement of the present-day Bangladesh area was an early and important achievement of Aurangzeb's reign. The eastern kingdom of Cooch Behar was added to the Empire in AD 1661. Assam was invaded the following year and in AD 1666 the Mughals conquered Chittagong. The Portuguese pirates, who had been capturing Bengalis, forcibly converting them to Christianity and then selling them into slavery, were driven out.

The Marathas

By AD 1663 the Marathas had conquered a considerable amount of territory, not only from Bijapur, but also from the Mughal province of Ahmadnagar. Therefore, Aurangzeb sent his uncle, Shaista Khan to the Deccan to suppress Shivaji's activities. Shaista Khan won a few battles and occupied Shivaji's childhood home in Poona. With a handful of Marathas, however, Shivaji recaptured his old home. The Marathas not only drove the Mughals out of Poona, they also attacked, looted and burned Surat, the wealthiest port of western India.

Thoroughly displeased with this shameful state of affairs, Aurangzeb decided to send one of his most powerful generals, the Rajput Jai Singh, to defeat the daring Marathas. This time the Mughals met with success. Within three months Jai Singh had captured several of Shivaji's most important forts. In AD 1665 Shivaji was persuaded to come to terms with Aurangzeb. The settlement was similar to the Emperor Akbar's treaties with the Rajput kings. In return for peace and the recognition of his right over twelve forts, Shivaji agreed to surrender his remaining twenty-three forts, to accept Aurangzeb as Emperor and to attend the Mughal court in Agra.

Shivaji was put under house arrest in Agra but he soon began to make plans for his escape. Every day he sent out large baskets of sweets as gifts to the Brahmins of Agra. Therefore, the guards suspected nothing when one day he hid himself and his son in two of the baskets and escaped from the house. Disguised as a Hindu holy man, Shivaji returned to the Deccan.

For several years he did nothing to arouse Aurangzeb's anger but by AD 1670 Shivaji had begun to take back the forts he had earlier surrendered. In AD 1674 Shivaji was crowned King of the Marathas. Aurangzeb had not been able to prevent the birth of the Maratha Kingdom. Now Shivaji set out to conquer new areas in the south. When he died in AD 1680, Shivaji was master of a powerful, independent state which stretched from Kalyan to Goa in the west, and included the Carnatic coast on the east and Mysore in the south.

Rebellion in the Frontier

From the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, the Pashtuns had been in rebellion. In AD 1667 a Yusufzai leader organized a force of about five thousand men and invaded Pakhli in Hazara District, forcing the Mughal officers to flee. Other Yusufzai bands began to carry out raids along the banks of the Kabul River in the Peshawar and Attock districts. The Mughal government sent reinforcements to Attock from Kabul and Lahore, and the Pashtuns were severely punished. Their houses were burnt and their property was looted by the Mughal soldiers.

Peace then prevailed in the Frontier area until AD 1672, when an Afridi leader declared war on the Mughals. The tribes of the Khyber area joined them, seized control of the route to Kabul and scored a tremendous victory over the Mughal governor while he was on his

way to Kabul after his winter stay in Peshawar. Now all of the Frontier area was in rebellion.

After still another imperial defeat, Aurangzeb himself went to Hasan Abdal (halfway between Rawalpindi and Peshawar). He stayed there for over a year directing operations. Three more large battles and much terrorism and treachery by the Mughal government succeeded in finally suppressing the rebellion in AD 1676, after most of the Pashtun leadership had been assassinated at a gathering in Peshawar.

Khushal Khan Khattak was the Poet Laureate as well as rebel leader of the Pashtun independence struggle against the Mughals.

Jats and Satnamis

The Jats around Agra had created trouble since Akbar's time, and during Aurangzeb's reign these troubles continued. The Satnamis of East Pujab, a sect of fanatical Hindu holy men, revolted in AD 1672. This revolt was put down with great bloodshed.

Early Attempts at Reform

Both as Viceroy-Prince and in his early years as Emperor, Aurangzeb tried to make the Mughal system run smoothly and properly. We have seen how he introduced the Mughal land revenue system in the Deccan and brought order to that region during his second viceregency. Aurangzeb, like Shah Jehan, brought more lands under state control at the beginning of his reign and issued many orders for the welfare of the peasants. Aurangzeb realized that mistreatment of the peasants endangered the stability of the whole system, but his orders were never carried out and the peasants continued to run away from the Reserved Lands.

The peasants also fled from the *jagirs*, where, away from government controls, they were treated even more badly. Some went to the towns and army camps looking for work, while others moved to the territories of the *zamindars* and rajas. These local rulers welcomed the runaways, recruiting them as troops for rebellions against the Mughal government. The local rulers had always tried to be as independent of the central government as possible, but now they were adding to their territories and becoming openly rebellious.

Religious policies

When Aurangzeb found that Akbar's system of administration could no longer be made to work properly, he began to search for other methods. From the beginning of his reign, Aurangzeb had tried to see that his Muslim subjects lived according to the rules of Islam. Now he tried to find guidance for good government in the systems which had been used by the caliphs in the Middle East.

Unfortunately, many of the details were not suited to the subcontinent, either to its physical features or to its peoples. For instance, many of the regulations about agriculture were designed for desert areas, while the taxation rules were meant for countries where most of the people were Muslims. Therefore, some of the policies turned out to be impractical and had to be dropped. At first, for example, Aurangzeb ordered that no non-Muslims should serve in the administration. But soon he realized that this was impossible and adopted a compromise policy allowing up to one half of the administrative posts to be held by non-Muslims.

In general, however, the anti-Hindu attitude of the government continued throughout Aurangzeb's reign. In fact, a vicious circle developed. Since many (although not all) of the rebellious local chiefs were Hindus, the Mughal government reacted against Hinduism. But this attitude just helped to turn the non-Muslim subjects against the Mughal government and thus added to the popularity of the rebels.

Because of Aurangzeb's religious fervour, historians tend to judge him according to their own religious leanings. Hindu and Christian historians often present Aurangzeb's religious policies as the main cause of the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, while some Muslim historians try to completely ignore the negative effects of these policies. It is true that Aurangzeb lost a great mainstay of the empire when he alienated the Rajputs, and that his anti-Hindu policies also contributed to the Marathas' rebellion. But we must remember that the Maratha rebellion emerged during Shah Jehan's reign, while the opposition of the Sikhs dates back even further to the time of Jehangir.

The Rajputs

In dealing with the Rajputs, Aurangzeb continued to follow the established Mughal policy of using every opportunity to increase the central government's authority over semi-independent states within its borders. In AD 1678 when Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar died,

Aurangzeb decided that it was time to annex this kingdom. Aurangzeb's son, Prince Akbar, was sent with a large army to occupy the province.

At this point, the Mughal expansionist policy was unfortunately combined with Aurangzeb's anti-Hindu policy. The Rajputs were now informed that they would have to pay the *jizya* tax. This and other unpopular measures helped to unify the Rajput kingdoms against the Mughal Emperor. Aurangzeb set up camp at Ajmer in order to direct operations himself, but the Rajputs were good fighters and the war did not progress smoothly.

In frustration, Aurangzeb dismissed his son from command of the army. The Rajputs now persuaded Prince Akbar to join them in a march on Delhi to overthrow the Emperor. In AD 1681 Prince Akbar and the Rajputs advanced against Aurangzeb, but the cunning Emperor wrote a letter by which he managed to make the Rajputs feel that Prince Akbar was really leading them into a trap. The Rajputs fell for the trick, and when Prince Akbar woke up in the morning, his Rajput allies had disappeared. Finding himself deserted, the prince fled to the Deccan.

The war between the Mughals and the Rajputs dragged on for years, and in the end Aurangzeb accepted the semi-independent position of the Rajput Ranas. But it was too late. Aurangzeb's long struggle had lost him the loyalty of the Rajputs.

The Deccan

While his generals continued to fight the Rajputs, Aurangzeb pursued his son Akbar to the Deccan. Prince Akbar managed to escape to Persia but Aurangzeb remained in the Deccan for the next twenty-six years (AD 1681-1707) until his death. At first his attention was occupied with the conquest of the two Sultanates, Bijapur (AD 1686) and Golconda (AD 1687), which he had begun years before when he was viceroy of the Deccan. Now the Mughal Empire was larger than it had ever been.

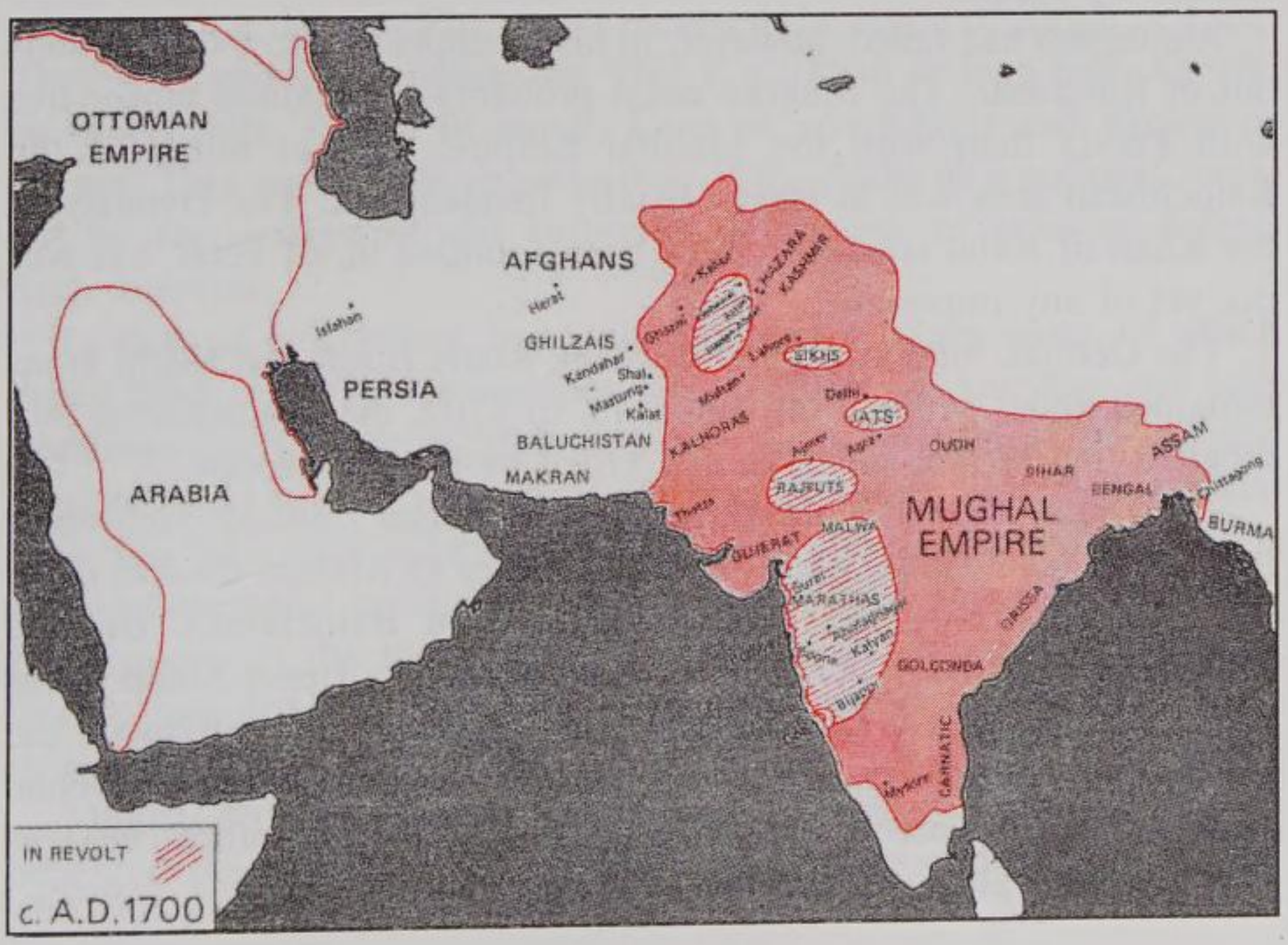
In AD 1689, when Shambhuji was the Maratha Raja, the Mughals captured him and his entire family. After Shambhuji's execution, the Maratha leadership was taken over at first by Shambhuji's brother and later by the brother's widow, Tarabai. For the rest of Aurangzeb's reign, independent Maratha chiefs with their bands of followers bothered the Mughals on all sides. The Maratha chiefs oppressed the peasants even more than the Mughals had, but for lack of any

alternative, the peasants continued to join the Marathas' plundering army, and still more land was left uncultivated.

The Mughal army numbered a hundred and seventy thousand men, but its very size was its undoing. The Marathas fought in small bands against the large and clumsy imperial army until the Mughals were confused and exhausted. The Mughal officers were impatient to return to the soft life of Delhi. They paid bribes to be transferred away from the combat zones and they sometimes even aided rather than attacked the enemy in exchange for bribes from the rebel chiefs. Fort after fort would be captured by the Mughals, often at great cost, only to be lost again almost immediately afterwards.

Decline

The long wars in the Deccan further weakened the government's control over the northern part of the Empire. The ruling class was dissatisfied because it was unable to collect sufficient taxes from the land. This was because the *jagirdars* were no longer in control of their area, and because the Mughal government needed so much in money and supplies to carry on its wars.



In the last years of his reign, Aurangzeb tried to satisfy his unhappy nobles in several ways. He made promises of money and commands which he could not keep. In AD 1690 he announced that the officers could keep all the lands which had been assigned to them, and that they could even hand them down to their families. In this way he hoped to turn his followers at court into loyal local chiefs. But by AD 1700 the officers were only satisfied when they were paid in cash.

The whole economic system of the Mughals had broken down, and the local chiefs were in revolt everywhere. The aged emperor was bitterly aware of the sad state of affairs. In his last years, Aurangzeb wrote, 'There is no province or district where the infidels have not raised a tumult and since they are not chastised they have established themselves everywhere.'

Pakistan Area, *c.* AD 1700

The Kabul-Peshawar Province had continued peacefully under Mughal administration after Aurangzeb's successful suppression of the Pashtun rebellion in AD 1676. The Ghazni area was part of this province, and after the death of Shah Abbas II in AD 1666 and the subsequent decline of the Safavid Persians, it was no longer in danger of being retaken by Persia.

Aurangzeb had failed, however, in his attempts to throw the Persians out of Kandahar. The Makran coast probably maintained closer ties with Persia than with the Mughal Empire. In fact much of the Balochistan area was at least partially independent. The Dynasty of the Khan of Kalat is said to have been founded in AD 1666, but was not yet of any importance.

The Derajat, the Pathan and the Sibi, Marri-Bugti and Kachi areas remained under Mughal influence. In AD 1702, the *zamindar* of Sibi rebelled, but he was defeated and killed by Mughal troops.

The Daudpota and Kalhora families had been fighting each other for control over Sindh. The Mughal governor of Multan tried to drive the Kalhoras into exile in the Kalat area of Balochistan. But the Kalhoras continued to consolidate their position in Upper Sindh under the leadership of Yar Mohammad (AD 1700-19), who convinced the Mughal government that he was more likely to make regular revenue payments than were his rivals the Daudpotas. Therefore, he was awarded the right to collect the revenue of Upper Sindh.

Lower Sindh remained under direct Mughal control. The major port of Larri Bunder had come upon bad days, however. The harbour was silting up in spite of the construction of the Auranga Bunder. A plague hit the city of Thatta resulting in many deaths.

Lahore was also facing problems. The Ravi River shifted away from the Lahore Fort, where we can still see the old bed. Then it began to flood the city at another point. Aurangzeb had a massive embankment built for three miles along the Ravi River. Construction and repairs went on for forty years at great expense.

During Aurangzeb's long absence in the Deccan, the prosperity of Lahore and of the Punjab in general began to decline due to the Sikhs who were becoming a menace to traders and other travellers in the area.

The Sikhs

In the Punjab, the Sikhs had coexisted with the Mughal government during the first part of Aurangzeb's reign, even after their ninth Guru had been executed on the emperor's orders. This was because they were weakened by quarrels among themselves. Then in AD 1699, the tenth and last Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind, formed a body of militant and disciplined Sikhs called the *Khalsa.*

All who were admitted to the *Khalsa* were baptized with water stirred with a dagger. They each received the name of Singh or Lion. They were required to wear the 'five K's': *Kesh* or long hair, *Kaccha* or short pants, *Kanga* or comb, *Kara* or iron bangle and *Kirpan* or dagger. This marked the organization of the Sikhs as a political force, led by Jat *zamindars* and believing in the use of arms to defend Sikh interests.

In case of emergency, the Sikh assembly or *Guru-mata*, of which every Sikh chief was a member, was to meet in Amritsar and take decisions for the entire Sikh *Khalsa*. The formation of the *Khalsa* was followed by many battles in the area between Sikhs (often allied with non-Sikh local rulers) and other local chiefs who preferred their semi-independent positions within the Mughal Empire to Sikh rule. Finally, one of the local chiefs appealed to the Mughal government to help him drive the Sikhs from Anandpur where they were refusing to pay taxes.

Mughal troops under the command of one of Aurangzeb's sons beseiged Anandpur and the Sikhs were driven out. The area was

also suffering from a famine, and the local rulers took advantage of the conditions to suppress the Sikhs and reassert their positions. Guru Gobind had created a military community with political aims and a strong anti-Mughal outlook, and the Sikhs would continue to make trouble for Aurangzeb's successors. But for now, the Sikh leader sued for peace and requested permission to attend the Mughal court in Ahmadnagar. By the time Guru Gobind arrived in the Deccan, however, it was too late to meet the great Emperor.

Aurangzeb died in Ahmadnagar in March AD 1707 at the age of eighty.

Culture and Austerity

As his father and grandfather had left the royal treasury virtually empty, Aurangzeb's government could not afford to build so many magnificent buildings as had Shah Jehan. Nevertheless, the construction of the great Badshahi Masjid in Lahore was begun during Aurangzeb's reign, and the grand mosque of Thatta, begun under Shah Jehan, was finished by Aurangzeb.

Both music and poetry continued to flourish throughout the empire. In the Pakistan area, the Pashto language came of age in the hands of Aurangzeb's opponent Khushal Khan Khattak (AD 1613-91). Punjabi poetry, always closely associated with Sufism, blossomed in the poems of Sultan Bahu (AD 1631-91). Aurangzeb's sister, Jehan Ara Begum, and his daughter Zeb-un-Nissa were both accomplished poetesses. Aurangzeb quoted poetry extensively in his many letters and at first composed poems himself, before deciding to abandon this art.

In his effort to follow Islamic law according to its strictest interpretations, Aurangzeb patronized neither music nor poetry in his court. This was as great a sacrifice for Aurangzeb as it was for the other members of the court, because he was very knowledgeable about both music and poetry. Aurangzeb preferred to spend the limited government funds on education. He arranged for grants to be given to deserving students and teachers throughout the empire.

Aurangzeb did not believe in extra expenditure and undue show on the part of the ruler or the ruling class. By his own simple, scrupulously proper life style, Aurangzeb hoped to have a good influence on the nobles (including his sons) who were ruining the Empire with their greed, corruption and laziness.

Trade under Aurangzeb

Commercial activities during Aurangzeb's reign were disrupted, first by the civil war between Aurangzeb and his brothers, and then by the government's efforts to Islamicize the tax system. It seems that the Mughal nobles, who were finding it impossible to collect enough in agricultural taxes to support both their wars and their expensive lifestyles, were envious of the wealth in the hands of many of the traders and money-lenders, most of whom were Hindus. Therefore, more regulations were passed to collect heavy taxes from the Hindu trading class, and these taxes discouraged business activities. The merchants and craftsmen also began moving away to the territories of the rajas.

In India, the commerce of Agra and Delhi suffered from the Jat disturbances. The port cities of Gujarat were under Maratha attack, and the Sikhs were disrupting the trade of Lahore. It was the break-up of the Mughal Empire into virtually independent territories which dealt the greatest blow to commerce and production.

Under all of these difficult conditions, only the largest and most influential of the trading groups could manage to prosper. These were the Mughal officers themselves and the European trading companies. The Europeans were able to provide interesting, if not always valuable, gifts in return for favours received: they were buying a foothold in the subcontinent with wind-up clocks and looking glasses.

One of Aurangzeb's major accomplishments, for which he is seldom given credit was his fifty years of successful resistance against European aggression. Like Akbar, Aurangzeb found that he had to accept the European presence in the Arabian Sea for the sake of the safety of Muslim pilgrims. Nevertheless, he dealt firmly with European attempts to take advantage of the Mughal Empire's growing weakness. Aurangzeb brought law and order to Bengal and established a coast guard there. The coast guard drove out foreign pirates and defeated a dozen British naval vessels which had been sent to sieze Chittagong, the main port of present-day Bangladesh.

By this time the English East India Company had formally decided to carve out its own small territories. It was prevented from doing so, however, both in Bengal and on the west coast of the subcontinent. In the west, the Mughal navy operated out of Surat and was reinforced by Abbyssinian mercenaries who had long been settled on the coast. The Mughals used their naval power to control both European and Maratha piracy on the west coast. But on sea, as well as on land,

the Marathas were becoming more and more powerful. By Aurangzeb's death, Mughal power had again faded, and the contest (on the sea although not yet on the land) was already between the Marathas and the Europeans.

Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707)

Aurangzeb has been regarded by some historians as the greatest of the Great Mughals. Aurangzeb brought the empire to its peak but had the misfortune however to see the beginning of its downfall. But he continued to struggle fiercely for his empire's glory up to the very end of his full and active life. Aurangzeb was a very complicated man who lived and ruled in difficult times.

Aurangzeb was a great letter writer. Of the thousands of letters which he wrote, some were simply diplomatic, while others were downright deceitful. But many letters were open-hearted, frank and affectionate. When these letters have been properly studied, we should know more about this fascinating, controversial and extremely important personality. One letter, written by Aurangzeb to his former teacher, is of special interest to students. In it, he complains that his education centred mainly upon Arabic grammar and that geography and history would have been much more helpful in preparing him to rule.

Ever since his youth, Aurangzeb had been deeply religious. In his personal life, he strictly followed the rules of Islam. He offered his prayers at the fixed hours, observed the Muslim fasts and abstained from drinking alcohol. He did not maintain the large harem which had become customary at that time. There were very devout Muslim rulers before Aurangzeb, such as Iltutmish's son Nasiruddin, and Feroz Tughluq. But these were weak rulers. They offended no one, impressed many, and let their empires weaken. Aurangzeb was devoutly religious and a strong and determined ruler. This is why he is remembered with such strong feelings, both by his critics and his admirers.

Aurangzeb was an excellent military commander and a fine diplomat. He was capable, hardworking and possessed fantastic courage. He seldom slept for more than a few hours a day and at the age of eighty continued to command his armies in person. But despite all of these qualities, Aurangzeb could not prevent the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

22

Decline of the Mughal Empire

Bahadur Shah I (AD 1707-12)

Aurangzeb's most competent son, Shah Alam, who had been governor of Kabul and Peshawar, succeeded to the throne after a short struggle. He took the title Bahadur Shah. Bahadur Shah was about sixty-three years old when he became emperor and he died after only five years of rule. This was very unfortunate for the Mughal Empire because Bahadur Shah was a brave and responsible ruler.

Marathas, Rajputs and Jats

The Maratha Kingdom had been broken up by Aurangzeb's relentless eighteen year campaign. Shivaji's grandson Shahu, who had been brought up in Delhi after his father's execution, was now released by Bahadur Shah. This threw the Marathas into confusion. A civil war broke out between Shahu and his aunt Tarabai. Shahu won with the aid of a Brahmin named Balaji Vishvanath. This Brahmin became chief minister or Peshwa of the Marathas. After this, the Peshwas became more and more important in the affairs of the Marathas.

Bahadur Shah was able to pacify the Rajputs without much difficulty and his relations with the last Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh, were friendly. But after Gobind Singh's death in AD 1708 a new leader named Banda summoned the Sikhs to war against the Mughal Empire. The situation became so serious that Bahadur Shah moved to Lahore to supervise operations against the Sikhs. Bahadur Shah also saw to the completion of the Badshahi Masjid during his stay in Lahore.

Death of Bahadur Shah I

Bahadur Shah died in Lahore in February AD 1712. In many ways

the subcontinent at the death of Bahadur Shah I resembled the subcontinent at the death of Feroz Tughluq. Feroz Tughluq's death marked the end of the might of the Delhi Sultanate. Now the Mughal Empire was also breaking up. After Feroz Tughluq's death there was great confusion with different kings occupying the throne in quick succession, while the various parts of the Sultanate assumed virtual independence. Bahadur Shah's death was followed by similar confusion, although he did not die heirless.

Lahore often played an important role in struggles over succession. As we have seen, control over Lahore, and especially over the treasury of this prosperous trading city, was considered an important first step in gaining control over the entire empire. When Bahadur Shah died in Lahore, there was rioting and looting in the city, while the various armies converged on Lahore demanding their pay and offering their services to the different rivals for the throne.

Prince Azam was the favourite of Bahadur Shah's four sons and was generally expected to succeed him. But now the most influential noble of the court encouraged the prince's three brothers to challenge his claim to the throne. During the fighting, Prince Azam and his elephant were drowned in the River Ravi. The noble, who wanted to keep all power for himself, saw to it that the most worthless of the three brothers, Jahander Shah, was raised to the throne.

The Sayyid Brothers (AD 1713-19)

Prince Azam's son, Farruksiyyar, would not accept this situation. With the help of two of his officers, the Sayyid brothers, Farruksiyyar defeated Jahander Shah and ascended the throne in AD 1713. Farruksiyyar was completely under the control of the Sayyid brothers. One of them became Wazir or Prime Minister and the other became Viceroy of the Deccan.

Farruksiyyar eventually aroused the suspicion of the Sayyid Wazir who feared that Farruksiyyar was conspiring against him with the other nobles. The Wazir sent for his brother who arrived from the Deccan with a large contingent of Maratha troops. The Marathas then demanded that the Mughal government recognize their rule over Maharashtra and give the Marathas one-quarter of the revenue of the Deccan each year.

In AD 1719 the Sayyids had Farruksiyyar imprisoned and murdered. Two more puppet emperors were raised and deposed by the

Sayyids in the same year. Then Mohammad Shah, another grandson of Bahadur Shah I, was crowned by the Sayyids in December AD 1719.

Mohammed Shah began his reign at the age of twenty under the control of the Sayyid brothers. By now, however, all the other nobles were disgusted with the Sayyids' treachery, high handedness and greed. Within a year after Mohammed Shah's coronation, the Sayyid Wazir had been assassinated and the second brother defeated in battle and imprisoned. Mohammed Shah's rule lasted almost thirty years. But he was not a strong ruler and was surrounded by selfish and pleasure loving nobles.

Break up of the Empire

During the short reign of Farruksiyyar (AD 1713-19) and the long reign of Mohammed Shah (AD 1719-48) the court in Delhi paid less and less attention to developments in the far flung territories of the empire. Fortunately, several very competent men continued to rule the outlying provinces more or less independently of the confused and corrupt court in Delhi.

Punjab

Farruksiyyar's governor at Lahore achieved the major accomplishment of Farruksiyyar's reign: the decisive defeat of Banda and the Sikhs in eastern Punjab in AD 1715-16. Thousands of Sikhs including Banda were taken prisoner, tortured and killed. The others fled into the mountains to the north-east or continued to practise their religion in great secrecy, as there was now a price on Sikh heads. The Lahore governor also defeated the rebellion of one of his Afghan officers in AD 1719.

He was succeeded by his son Zakaria Khan (AD 1726-45). Zakaria Khan ruled the semi-independent Punjab wisely and well and tried to keep the Sikhs under control. In spite of the father and son's efforts, however, Sikh unrest was destroying the trade and prosperity of the Punjab. Many Sikhs had formed small robber bands. They ambushed merchant caravans and then galloped back to their forest hideouts.

The trade routes through the Punjab had become so hazardous that caravans heading west overland avoided this area, diverting trade

southwards to Sindh and northwards to Kashmir. The prosperity of the towns along the Punjab trade routes (Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sialkot, Gujarat and Lahore) declined and the merchants and bankers of these towns began to migrate to Bihar, Bengal and Kashmir.

Northern Subcontinent

East of Delhi, the Rohilla Afghan nobles established a kingdom of Rohilkhand. The Viceroy of Oudh, Saadat Khan, also assumed semi-independence (AD 1724), and the Rajput states no longer acknowledged Mughal rule.

Many of the harbours along the west coast of India had declined because of Maratha looting, and some harbours, including that of Thatta, had become un-usable due to silting. Much of the commerce of the subcontinent was now concentrated in Bengal and Bihar. A lively trade was carried on between the east coast of India and the rest of Asia.

The Europeans had always preferred to base themselves on the east coast since their main aim was the purchase of spices from the nearby East Indies. The products of Bengal and Bihar could be sold throughout Asia to raise money for the Spice Trade. The Europeans, and particularly the English, were able to obtain promises of many favours by distributing presents and bribes at Farruksiyyar's corrupt court in Delhi.

The Bengal governor, an old officer from Aurangzeb's time, managed to keep the Europeans' ambitions firmly within bounds. He continued to rule Bengal sternly but efficiently until his death in AD 1727. Shortly afterwards, another officer, Alivardi Khan, was recognized by Mohammed Shah as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He ruled Bengal successfully until his death in AD 1756.

Hyderabad Deccan

One of the most respected of the nobles at that time was Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had begun his career under Aurangzeb, and who still believed in the self-discipline urged by that great Emperor. Nizam-ul-Mulk was made *Wazir* by Mohammed Shah. He advised Mohammed Shah to wipe out corruption at the court, regain state control over the formerly Reserved Lands, collect *Jizya* tax from non-Muslims and go to the aid of the Safavid king of Persia who wasbeing attacked by Afghans.

When Nizam-ul-Mulk found that he could not introduce any order or discipline into the pleasure loving court at Delhi, he retired to the Deccan, of which he was also Viceroy. Here he ruled semi-independently until his death in AD 1748.

Marathas

Nizam-ul-Mulk's main problem in the Deccan was the growing power of the Marathas under their Peshwa Baji Rao I (AD 1720-39). Nizam-ul-Mulk decided that he must come to terms with the Marathas if he was to protect the Deccan from their attacks. In AD 1731 he promised that he would remain neutral in any disputes between the Marathas and the Mughals as long as the Marathas did not attack the Deccan.

Malwa, Bundlkhand and Gujarat were soon occupied by Maratha armies. By AD 1737 the Marathas had entered the suburbs of Delhi and Mohammed Shah was sending Nizam-ul-Mulk frantic appeals for help. The Nizam did come to the emperor's aid (in return for a large contribution) and was able to defeat the Marathas. Now, however, the Marathas blocked the Nizam's route back to the Deccan until he recognized their rule over Malwa. The Marathas were now the most powerful and important force in the subcontinent. For the next few years they concentrated on driving the Portuguese away from the west coast of India.

Frontier and Balochistan

The Mughals continued to rule the eastern Afghanistan and NWFP areas from Kabul and Peshawar. Mughal rule had always been fairly loose in this province. Now several small semi-independent principalities arose including those of Akora and Terri on the Khattak's land and another small principality in the country of the Afridis.

While the Mughal Empire was declining, things were also changing in Central Asia. The Safavid Dynasty of Persia was under attack from the increasingly powerful Afghans and Khiljis (a tribe of mixed Turkish and Afghan origin). By the death of Aurangzeb, the Kandahar area was ruled by the local Ghilzais or Khiljis, independent of both the Mughals and the Persians. In AD 1722 a Ghilzai chief captured Isfahan and mounted the Persian throne.

The confusion in Kandahar spilled over into Balochistan. Both Safavid Persians and Ghilzais ruled various parts of Balochistan during

the first half of the eighteenth century. At one point the Kalati tribesmen overran Mustang and Shal (present-day Quetta). Later, when Shal was being ruled by a Ghilzai from Kandahar, the Kalatis invaded Lower Sindh, which was still nominally under Mughal rule.

Sindh

Until his death, in AD 1719, the Kalhora leader Yar Mohammed ruled Upper Sindh for the Mughal government. His son Nur Mohammed continued to extend Kalhora influence. The Daudpotas were practically driven out of Sindh. In AD 1736 the Emperor Mohammed Shah gave Nur Mohammed responsibility for governing Lower as well as Upper Sindh for the Mughal Empire. The Kalhoras were able to throw the Kalatis out of Thatta in AD 1738 and thus become the sole rulers of Sindh. But they were now faced with a far greater danger than Daudpotas or Kalatis: Nadir Shah of Persia.

Nadir Shah

The temporary Afghan/Ghilzai rule over Persia was put to an end by Nadir Shah, a Persian general of Turkish descent. Nadir Shah defeated various Afghan forces at Herat and Isfahan, crowned himself ruler of Persia, and launched an attack on Kandahar, the Ghilzais' major stronghold. During the campaign against Kandahar (AD 1736-8), Nadir Shah also overran much of Balochistan. Once Kandahar had surrendered, Nadir Shah wanted to march eastward through Sindh, but the Kalhora ruler refused to grant permission and prepared to defend his territories.

Therefore, Nadir Shah marched northwards into the Mughal province of Kabul with the announced purpose of pursuing fleeing Ghilzais. Mughal Ghazni surrendered without a struggle and Kabul submitted a month later. Now Nadir Shah turned eastward and marched through the Khyber Pass. Peshawar also capitulated without resistance and was laid waste. Nadir Shah then advanced across the Punjab, devastating Wazirabad and Emanabad.

The Punjab Viceroy came out to meet Nadir Shah on the banks of the Ravi with twenty thousand men and cannon entrenchments. But Nadir Shah forded the Ravi River and encamped at Shalimar Gardens. After two days of skirmishing, negotiations were conducted and presents were given. The wealthy inhabitants of Lahore raised money to save their city and Nadir Shah proceeded on towards Delhi.

Resistance continued to be half-hearted until Nadir Shah had reached Karnal, only a hundred miles from Delhi. Now the army of Mohammed Shah the Mughal Emperor came out to meet him. After only two hours of fighting Mohammed Shah surrendered and Nadir Shah entered the Mughal capital. When the citizens of Delhi tried to resist Nadir Shah's Qizilbash troops, the Persian soldiers took revenge, making a massacre of the inhabitants and looting the city. Nadir Shah restored the crown of the Mughal empire to Mohammed Shah but exacted in return an immense tribute including such priceless treasures as the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond, one of Jahangir's albums of paintings and the Peacock Throne of Shah Jehan. Mohammed Shah also had to recognize Nadir Shah's annexation of all territories west of the Indus.

Nadir Shah's invasion was a great humiliation for the Mughal Empire. The capital of Delhi was ruined and depopulated, and the Mughal treasury was emptied. The Mughal government also lost two important sources of revenue: Sindh and much of the Punjab.

Post-Invasion Pakistan Area

Passing through Lahore on the way home, the victorious Nadir Shah is said to have asked the Lahore governor, Zakaria Khan, to request some favour. Zakaria Khan asked for the liberation of the artisans, musicians, medical doctors and other prisoners who were being marched away by Nadir Shah's army. The favour was granted and many of the grateful people were allowed to return to their homes.

The Sikhs, meanwhile, took full advantage of the confusion during and after Nadir Shah's invasion. They plundered fleeing civilians as well as invading soldiers. The Sikh robber bands became more organized and began to attract more and more impoverished Jat farmers.

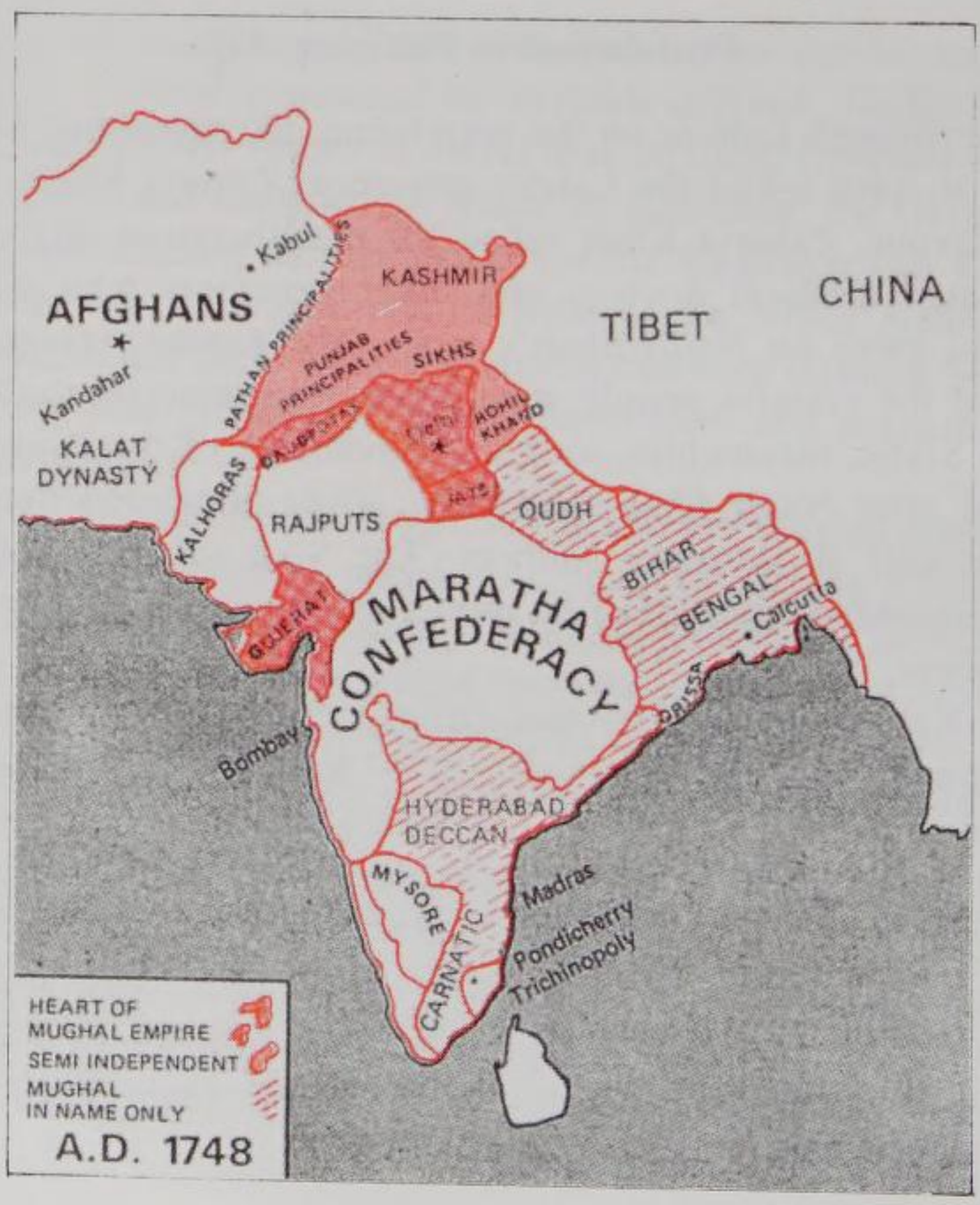
The Kalhora ruler, who had earlier refused Nadir Shah safe passage through Sindh, was now pursued by Nadir Shah as far as Umarkot, where negotiations were held. The Thatta area was left under Kalhora control on payment of annual tribute but the Kalhora ruler's three sons were kept as hostages at Nadir Shah's court. The Daudpotas were given responsibility for Upper Sindh. The Kalatis, who were made deputies over much of Balochistan, still controlled most of the coastline. We first hear of Karachi when Nadir Shah's officers sailed to that port.

The Kabul province had always been an expense rather than a source of revenue for the Mughal government, and the excess revenue from some of the districts of central Punjab, such as Gujrat, Sialkot and Pasrur, was used to maintain the Kabul and Peshawar administrations. Nadir Shah demanded these revenues after the governor of Peshawar had formally surrendered the Kabul-Peshawar province.

Nadir Shah's real ambitions lay further west, where his attacks on Turkey and the Persian Gulf put a fatal strain on both his resources and his mental health. Nadir Shah's behaviour became even more unpredictable and cruel, until he was assassinated by his own officers in AD 1747.

First Carnatic War

The Persians demonstrated the superiority of their arms over those of the Mughals in their use of camel-mounted swivel guns during the invasion of Nadir Shah. The superiority of European armaments



and military discipline over those of the subcontinent was made clear in the First Carnatic War from AD 1740-1748. During these years, warfare between the English and French in Europe spilled over to their trading posts in the Indian subcontinent. The Nawab of the Carnatic on the east coast of India was powerless to stop these foreigners from carrying on a war in his own country. This showed the British and French the superiority of their military forces, especially in arms and discipline, over the local troops.

First Afghan Invasion

Ahmed Shah Abdali had served as an officer under Nadir Shah, and accompanied him on his invasion of the subcontinent in AD 1738-9. After Nadir Shah's assassination, Ahmed Shah Abdali seized much of his former master's treasure and the eastern part of his empire. By this time the Punjab was in a virtual state of anarchy. Mughal troops had inflicted another serious defeat on the Sikhs, but now there was rivalry for the governorship of Lahore.

Encouraged by the confused state of affairs in the Punjab, Ahmed Shah Abdali crossed the Indus near Attock in AD 1748 and was soon approaching the banks of the Ravi. An Afghan officer and his troops were sent out to defend Lahore, but the officer joined Ahmed Shah Abdali instead. After a heavy contribution had been collected from the Lahore townspeople, Ahmed Shah Abdali marched on towards Delhi, just as Nadir Shah had done one decade earlier.

At Sirhind, however, the invader met with vigorous Mughal resistance under the leadership of Mohammed Shah's son. The Afghans were forced to turn back across the Indus. This was the last time the Mughal government was able to repel foreign invaders.

AD 1748

The death of the Mughal Emperor Mohammed Shah in April AD 1748 marked the end of any pretensions of Mughal power. AD 1748 saw not only the death of the Mughal Emperor in northern India, but also that of the Nizam-ul-Mulk in the Deccan. There were then disputes over succession in both Hyderabad, Deccan and in the Carnatic (which was officially a tributary state of Hyderabad). The French decided to intervene in both succession struggles. This was the beginning of the European policy of divide and rule which was so successful in subduing, bit by bit, the entire subcontinent.

The people of the subcontinent, and their rulers, had no idea of the danger of European conquest. They were well aware of the decline of Mughal power and the rise of the Marathas, and they were conscious of the new Muslim invader, Ahmed Shah Abdali, on their northwest frontier. The controversy of the day was whether the Mughals should accept the Marathas' help in driving the new invader out of the subcontinent (and thus become puppets of Hindus), or whether they should invite Ahmed Shah Abdali (in spite of the totally negative effects of Nadir Shah's invasion) to break the power of the Marathas and to revive Muslim rule in the subcontinent.

No one realized that the age of great Muslim states was temporarily drawing to a close, while the small impoverished countries of Europe were climbing onto the centre stage of world history. The Safavid Dynasty of Persia had crumbled even before that of the Mughals. Although the Ottoman Empire of Turkey would linger on into the twentieth century, its power was already much declined. The overland trade routes across Central Asia, the old Silk routes connecting China and the subcontinent with Europe, had been replaced by European controlled sea routes.

Culture and Religion

After Bahadur Shah's death, the rulers in the subcontinent could no longer afford to undertake ambitious building projects. Painting, which had become over refined after Jehangir, now benefited from more lively local traditions when the artists migrated to the smaller states. Music and dance continued to be patronized both in the semi-independent provinces, particularly at the court of the Nawab of Oudh in Lucknow, and in Delhi.

Mohammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, bore the nickname *Rangila* because of the gaiety of court life during the three decades of his reign. The nobles, including the Emperor, tried to avoid facing their difficult and perhaps insoluble state problems by escaping into a constant round of entertainment and cultural activity. This escapism has unfortunately left a negative attitude towards cultural pursuits in the minds of some people who forget that the earlier rulers dealt capably with the responsibilities of office while still appreciating and encouraging culture.

It was during the reign of Mohammed Shah that Urdu attained its status as a literary language in the northern subcontinent. The

leading figure in Urdu literature was also the great religious thinker of the time: Shah Waliullah (AD 1703-62). Who attempted to work out a system of Islamic thought which could be accepted by all but the most extreme groups of Muslims in the subcontinent. Hundreds of years after his death, different Muslim movements still seek legitimacy by tracing their ideals back to Shah Waliullah's many writings. With his translation of the Quran into simple Persian, Shah Waliullah hoped to make a true understanding of Islam possible for more Muslims in the subcontinent. His sons carried on this work by producing several Urdu translations of the Holy Quran.

Literature and poetry actually received a stimulus from the break-up of the Mughal Empire, just as they had from the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate. Regional languages flourished not only in the local court, but throughout the countryside, at shrines, markets, and all gathering places. Sindhi poetry and song reached its peak at the hands of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (AD 1690-1751). Bulleh Shah (AD 1680-1758) was the great Sufi poet of the Punjab during this period.

23

Causes of the Decline of Muslim Rule in the Subcontinent

Mughal System

What caused the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire? One could just as well ask, 'How did the Mughal Empire manage to survive for such a long time?' Two centuries is a long time for any one dynasty to rule. In fact, very few families in world history have presided over such a vast and wealthy realm for such a long time.

The *Jagirdari* system

Many of the reasons for the Mughal Empire's eventual decline, as well as many reasons for its long survival, can be found in the system of Mughal administration. The Mughal system, which was Akbar's masterpiece, was based on the revenue system of Sher Shah Suri who had benefited from the experiences of the earlier Delhi Sultans, particularly Alauddin Khilji and Mohammed bin Tughluq. Many aspects of this system survive in the government services today.

Every government officer in the Mughal Empire was known as a *mansabdar* because he had a rank, or *mansab*, according to the importance of his job. There were thirty-three grades of government officers. The very highest ranks were usually given only to members of the ruling family. Any official with the rank of Commander of Five Hundred or above was known as an amir or noble, but these ranks were not meant to be hereditary. A *mansabdar's* son might attain a higher or lower rank than his father, or no rank at all, depending upon his abilities.

At first, most of the officers received cash allowances from the royal treasury. The money to pay these allowances came from the state controlled or *Khalsa* lands. Later, more and more of the officers

were assigned lands or *jagirs* instead of being given cash allowances. The officers were expected to maintain themselves, their administrations and the number of troops specified in their rank from their allowances or the revenue of the *jagir* assigned to them.

Akbar felt that loyalty to the central government was better encouraged by allowances than by land assignments. It was too difficult, however, for the central government to manage enough land to pay all allowances. The *jagirs*, like the *mansabs*, were not hereditary, and Akbar took a further precaution to prevent the *jagirdars* from establishing independent bases of power in the countryside. He insisted that officers should be transferred from one *jagir* to another every few years.

The *jagirdari* system probably served its purpose of discouraging the establishment of new independent kingdoms. It thus helped to preserve the unity of the empire for almost two centuries. But the *jagirdari* system encouraged irresponsibility on the part of the *jagirdars*, who squeezed as much revenue as possible out of the peasants during their short terms and thus ruined the agricultural economy.

The peasants, and later the artisans and merchants, when they too were squeezed, fled to the territories of the rajas or *zamindars*; the pre-Mughal local chiefs whose hereditary claims had been tolerated as long as they sent tribute and troops to the Mughal government. These chiefs, who took every opportunity to assert their independence, now became a real danger to the empire.

The nobility

In spite of all of Akbar's precautions, the Mughal officers did eventually come to regard themselves as members of a hereditary ruling class. They thought that just because they had been born into noble families, they deserved to live luxurious idle lives. After almost two centuries of Mughal rule, the nobles forgot the very important lesson which Babur had taught their forefathers; 'that royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces.'

By Aurangzeb's time, his nobles could no longer be bothered with trying to control their dependent provinces any more than they could be bothered with looking after the welfare of their subjects. After the death of Bahadur Shah I even the emperors themselves preferred the pursuit of pleasure to the frustrations of office. They could not

bestir themselves to put down rebellions or to resist invaders.

Ibn Khaldun, one of the greatest historians of all time, watched the rise and fall of Muslim dynasties in his own day (the fourteenth century). He concluded that it usually takes four generations for a ruling family to become worthless. It is to the credit of the Mughals that they produced seven generations of capable and determined rulers. And it is to the credit of Akbar's Mughal system that the officers remained hardworking and loyal as long as they did.

Expansionism

In many ways it was the very size and wealth of the subcontinent which was the Mughal Empire's eventual undoing. The subcontinent was wealthy in gold and jewels and precious ornaments. But more importantly, it was also wealthy in the vastness and fertility of its lands and in the abundance and skill of its craftsmen. These were the advantages which had first attracted Babur to the subcontinent. But they were easy to take for granted.

Both Babur and Akbar encouraged the growing of cash crops, but very little was done to actually increase agricultural production. Since the peasants knew that any increase in production would be squeezed out of them by revenue collectors, they had no reason to try to improve their methods or tools. The *jagirdar* did not care about the productivity of the *jagir* since he would soon be transferred to another area. The rulers, rather than undertaking projects like irrigation systems to increase the productivity of their territory, felt that it was simpler to just conquer more territory and in this way increase their revenue incomes.

The subcontinent has natural boundaries. Almost from the beginning of Muslim rule, each ruler dreamed of extending his borders to the furthest limits of the subcontinent. Often this expansionist policy worked well. The revenue collected from the new territories more than covered the expense of their conquest. The growing ruling class could be kept happy with new land assignments.

But by the time of Mughal Empire had reached its greatest extent under Aurangzeb, the distances had become immense. The continual warfare necessary to keep all of the diverse and far flung areas under control was very expensive and was not rewarded with an increase in revenue, but with a decrease, because the vast armies ruined the crops wherever they marched or camped or fought. Thus

the policy of expansionism led the Mughal Empire into an eventual dead end.

Rather than relying upon continued expansion to provide for more nobles, the Mughal rulers should have followed Akbar's original plan of giving *mansabs* only to those officers who were actually needed for the governing of the empire. Instead, too many officers were appointed, especially under Jehangir, and it became impossible to keep them all satisfied. Even more importantly, rather than rely upon continued expansion, the Mughal government should have made greater efforts to increase the production of the territories already under its control.

The agricultural fields of Europe were small and stony and the climate was harsh compared to that of the subcontinent. But in that cool climate the horse could be bred to a much greater sturdiness than the horses of the subcontinent. Slowly, through the Middle Ages, the horse came to replace the bullock as the chief farm animal in Europe. After this, various farm implements, which the bullock is too clumsy to pull, could be developed and used. Other new methods were also adopted. This meant that agricultural productivity was increasing in the West while it remained static and even declined in the Mughal Empire.

Commerce and Industry

The development of new farm implements also meant that the people of Europe were getting quite clever at making mechanical devices long before the advent of the steam engine (in AD 1767). The increased prosperity of the European countryside enabled the people to buy more things. Therefore, while the small merchants and artisans were fleeing the ruined countryside of the Mughal Empire, the rural merchants and craftsmen of Europe were busy organizing and developing new methods of production.

The merchants and tradesmen of Europe were also beginning to demand a say in the running of their governments. The centralized military nature of the Mughal government and the low status (due to the Hindu caste system) of the craftsment and traders of the subcontinent made it impossible for them to even think of demanding a voice in the government.

We should remember, however, that up to the middle of the eighteenth century, cities, commerce and industry flourished in the

Mughal Empire. Much was done by the Mughal governments, both directly and indirectly, to encourage commerce and industry. Uniform systems of weights and measures, of currency and of banking procedures were direct contributions. Roads, rest houses, bridges and ferries were built mainly for security purposes, but they greatly aided the smooth flow of trade. Last but not least, the imposition of law and order over the vast areas of the Empire provided the most basic requirements for a flourishing commerce and industry; peace and unity.

Akbar patronized inventors, held bazaars to exhibit novel products, and invited foreign experts to advise the state owned workshops. These state workshops played an important role in production throughout the Mughal period. Under Akbar, these workshops probably helped to raise the standards of private as well as state production. Akbar forbade slavery centuries before it was banned in the West.

Just as they took for granted their right to the peasants' agricultural produce, however, the later nobles also thought that the workmanship of the artisans was theirs for the asking. When income from agricultural revenues declined, the nobles began to get everything done by forced labour for little or no pay. They also began to heavily tax or even seize the profits of the merchants. Nevertheless, the products, commerce and cities of the subcontinent were still superior to those of the West at the middle of the eighteenth century.

Military affairs

Strangely enough, it was the military which failed to develop under the basically military organization of the Mughal government. The failure of the Mughals to build the world's best fighting ships is easy to understand, while their failure to continue to improve their guns is more surprising. The Mughals, along with many of their officers, came from Central Asia. They were aware of the importance of controlling overland trade routes but they had no experience of the sea.

While Babur's muskets were overawing the tribesmen of the Frontier, cannons on board Spanish ships were already bombarding the ports of western India. And while Babur's cannons were stampeding the elephants of Ibrahim Lodi's army in the First Battle of Panipat, Henry the Eighth of England was deciding that since England could

never be a power on land, she should be a power at sea. King Henry encouraged the development of fast light ships with square-rigged sails.

By the time Akbar had conquered Gujarat, the Portuguese had established firm control over the Arabian Sea. The contest for naval supremacy was between Spain (of which Portugal was a part), the Dutch (who won their independence from Spain around this time) and the English. During the eighteenth century the French would challenge English supremacy over the seas, but the Mughals never had a chance to even enter the competition. We should remember nonetheless, that Aurangzeb did maintain navies on both the east and west coasts and that his pilgrim ships were perhaps the largest ships in the world at that time.

It was the Chinese who first used gunpowder in weapons in the thirteenth century. This knowledge then spread to the Turks. The Persians, Mughals and Europeans all learned from them. Babur brought muskets and cannons to this subcontinent. Akbar actively encouraged advances in the production and maintenance of armaments, but the Europeans were also making advances. Realizing this, Akbar attempted to acquire some Portuguese made guns, but he was unsuccessful.

After Akbar, the Mughal governments made no attempts to improve their own guns. The governments of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb hired small numbers of European gunners but this did not improve the overall performance of the empire's armed forces. In the meantime, the English learned how to make cannons out of a relatively cheap material, cast iron. They thus became superior in making arms as well as in building fighting ships.

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Mughal Empire was able to expand and defend territories through the sheer size of its armies. After the decline of the Uzbeg Turks, during Akbar's reign, the Mughals were not threatened from the west for one and a half centuries. During this period the two large powers of the Middle East, Safavid Persia and the Ottoman Turks, were busy fighting each other.

The Ottoman Turks were also attacking the small states of Europe which were in turn constantly fighting amongst themselves. It was during these centuries of almost continual warfare that the Europeans perfected their armaments. The constant warfare in Europe also led the English and French to polish their military organiza-

tion, discipline and techniques. We have already mentioned the decline in the quality of the Mughal military officers by the reign of Aurangzeb, and the Mughals' dependence on huge armies which were awe inspiring but very difficult to discipline or manoeuvre.

Religion, learning and culture

During the period of Mughal rule, Europe was emerging from its Dark Ages: a time of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and stagnation. Once the Europeans had rediscovered their Greek and Roman heritage (carefully preserved and enhanced by Muslim scholars), the spread and advancement of science and learning were greatly helped by the use of the printing press. Due to an unfortunate interpretation of Islamic teachings, the printing press was not put to use in the Muslim world until much later. Some historians have listed this failure, along with the failures to maintain progress in the agricultural and military spheres, as one reason for the decline of Muslim power relative to European power.

This one cultural failure, however, is greatly overshadowed by the almost unbroken traditions of respect for learning, open-mindedness and tolerance which flourished in the Muslim ruled subcontinent. Christians, coming from a Europe torn by religious wars and persecution of heretics and witches, were amazed at the tolerance exercised by the Muslim ruling class towards the Hindu majority. With a few temporary exceptions, this spirit of tolerance prevailed throughout the period of Muslim rule, from AD 172 when Mohammed bin Qasim announced that non-Muslims were free to practise their own religion, to AD 1857, when Muslims and Hindus united to attempt the overthrow of British rule and the reinstatement of the last Mughal emperor.

Hindusim was able to absorb many religions, including Buddhism and to a large extent, Sikhism. Islam could never be absorbed because of the fundamental differences between the two religions, but interaction between the religions generally had a stimulating and beneficial effect on both faiths. Although the majority of the Indian population remained Hindu, Islam affected the life of the ordinary Hindu by having a beneficial influence on the Hindu religion and on the social life in general. At the same time, a continual teaching effort was necessary to ensure that the great numbers of Muslim converts would not continue to be immersed in un-Islamic Hindu practises.

The Quran began with the injunction 'Read' and this instruction was meant for everyone, regardless of nationality or status in life. Even before the Arab conquest of Sindh, Arab traders had settled in colonies along the coast of India bringing the Message of the Oneness of God and the equality of men. Many of the saints and scholars who accompanied the early invaders believed in living with and preaching to the masses. Their behaviour contrasted greatly with that of the Hindu Brahmins who tried to keep a monopoly on their knowledge of Sanskrit while denouncing all other languages as, 'un-Hindu'.

The Muslims, on the other hand, were anxious to make use of all languages in their search for truth and knowledge. Sanskrit works were continually being translated into Arabic and Persian. Thus, Hindu knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, as well as great works of literature, were made available not only to the Muslim world, but eventually to the West as well. It is not surprising that under Muslim rule local languages blossomed and flourished, patronized both by the Muslim rulers and by the Sufi saints who used them to win the local people to the Msulim faith. The international languages of Arabic and Persian were also put to full use, enabling a continual exchange of people and ideas between the Muslim ruled subcontinent and the rest of the Muslim world.

A constant stream of capable Muslims arrived in the subcontinent and were set to work by the various Muslim rulers. The traffic, however, was not all one way. In obedience to the Quranic injunction to perform Haj, many subcontinental Muslims journeyed westwards. Some went for longer periods to study Islam in the Holy Lands and stayed on to contribute to Islamic scholarship. Others returned to share their knowledge with their countrymen in the subcontinent. The subcontinent was not only an integral part of the Muslim world: Islam and Islamic culture spread from the subcontinent to much of south-east Asia.

Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Indian elements interacted to produce the unique Muslim culture of the subcontinent. One of the first arts to benefit from the interaction of different cultures was music. Pre-Mughal Muslim architecture owed much to the Central Asian traditions of the Afghans. Mughal architecture was a fusion of Persian and Indian elements. The Mughal tradition of painting was begun by Persian artists and continued by Indians. The dress and diet of the ruling class owed most to Turkish traditions. Literature, both in Persian and in the local languages, often derived its models from Persia.

The best of the Persian poetry written in the subcontinent was recognized as great literature in Persia itself. Besides poetry, the authors of the subcontinent also perfected the art of writing letters which were works of literature in themselves. They also produced some of the world's best works of historical literature. One of the most valuable results of the great interaction between cultures was the development of the Urdu language.

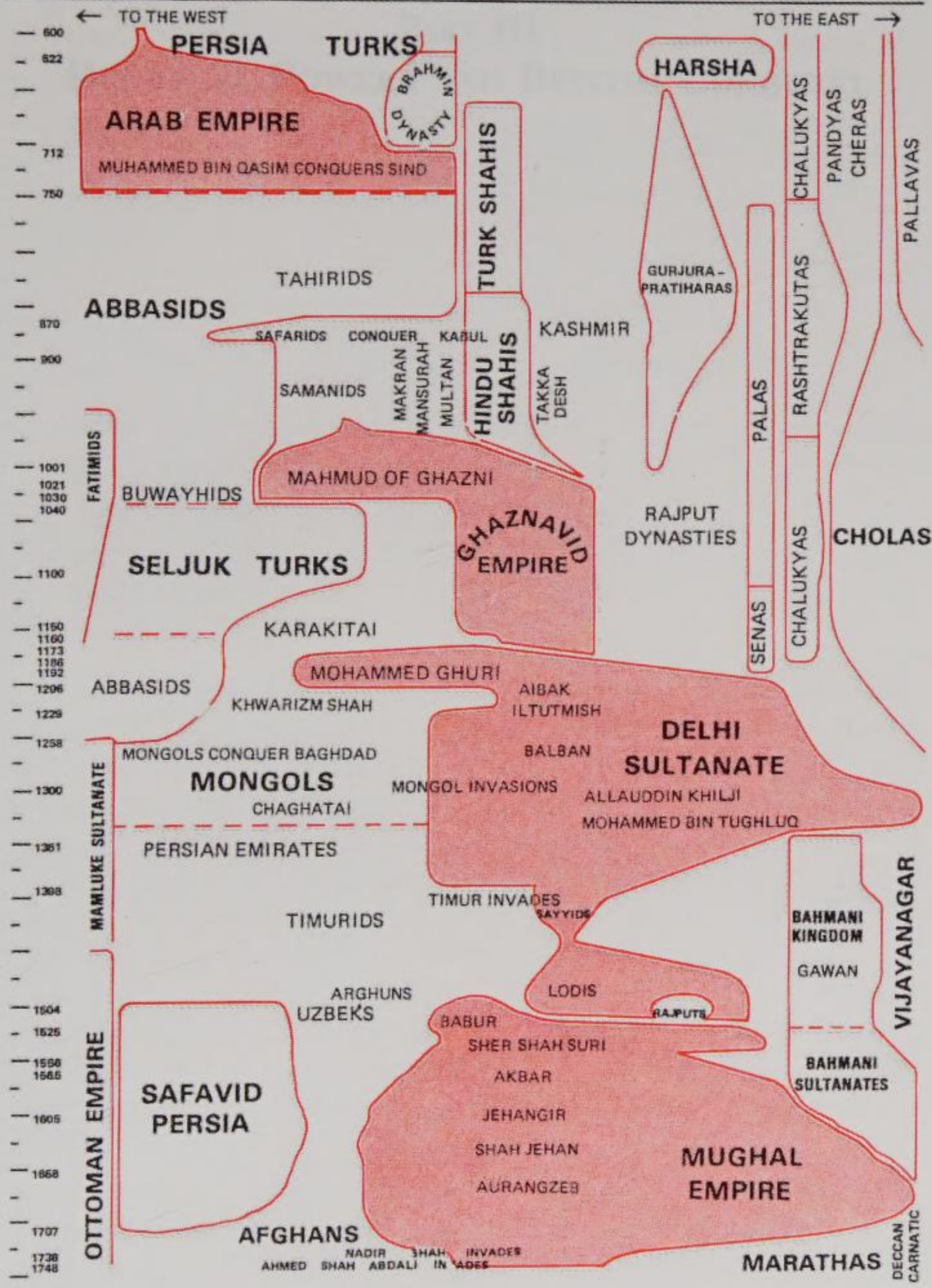
Visitors from Central Asia and the Middle East were amazed to see the different groups of Muslims coexisting peacefully in the subcontinent. Tensions between the different groups were always present, but they were mainly creative tensions. They very seldom broke out into open hostilities. While the Ottoman Empire in Turkey and the Safavid Dynasty of Iran were exhausting themselves in endless conflicts, the Mughal Empire in the subcontinent continued to unfold the splendour of Muslim culture.

Only in the petty squabbles which accompanied the last days of demoralization and decline of the empire could the differences between the various Muslim groups be fanned into communal intolerance. And even in these last days there were saving voices of calm and faith and reason, like that of Shah Waliullah.

Religion, learning and culture flourished during this period and continued to do so, in spite of tremendous economic and political setbacks, right up to the very end of the Mughal dynasty in AD 1857. People still enjoy the poems of Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor, and the greatest of the Mughal poets, Ghalib, lived and wrote in Delhi during his reign:

> Here in the splendid court the great verses flow;
> may such treasure tumble open for us always.
>
> (Ghalib)

TIME CHART
PAKISTAN AREA



Part III
Regional Powers and British Conquest

24

The Europeans in the Mughal Subcontinent, 1685-1761

The First British Attempt at Conquest, 1685

Sir Joshua Child, the ambitious Chairman of the English East India Company, thought that it was now time

> to establish such a politic of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to secure both...as may be the foundation of a large, well grounded, secure English domain in India for a long time to come.

In 1685 twelve English warships were sent to seize and fortify Chittagong (in present-day Bangladesh). This was a serious mistake which almost cost the English their presence in the subcontinent. The Mughal government was still much stronger than the English had estimated, and still had a functioning coastguard.

The English ships were defeated off Chittagong, but the English were not yet convinced of Mughal superiority. The English blockaded various ports on the west coast, seized Mughal vessels and attempted to block pilgrim traffic to Makkah. Aurangzeb ordered the English to be thrown out of the Empire. Several English trading posts, including the one in Surat, were seized, and several East India Company employees were slain. The island of Bombay, which was now the centre of English west coast activities, was attacked by a fleet of Mughal-hired mercenaries. The greater part of the island was taken, and the English governor was besieged in the town and castle.

The Company was reduced to abject submission and had to appeal for pardon to Aurangzeb. When the English agreed to pay compensation and to restore all Mughal ships, pardon was granted along with a new licence to trade, in February 1690. The English now attempted, very belatedly, to clear the waters of English pirates, but

piracy continued. In 1695, a ship carrying pilgrims and profits from trade in the Red Sea was seized by a notorious English pirate. The Mughal government at Surat arrested the English residents of the city, including the President of the English East India Company factory, and put them in irons in order to protect them from the enraged Muslim population of Surat.

After these misadventures, the English did not think of confronting Mughal power for almost seventy years. In spite of their bad behaviour, the English were allowed to establish a new trading post on the Hooghli River in Bengal in 1697. This was to the mutual advantage of both the Mughal elite and the British traders, although it would prove disastrous to the ordinary people of Bengal. This post would become the city of Calcutta and the capital of British India until 1911.

France and England

The French were quite weak and it was probably the temporary troubles between the Mughal government and the English which distracted these powers from eliminating the French presence. Since 1689, there had been almost constant warfare between France and England in North America and in Europe. Now that the French had established themselves in India, it was inevitable that France and England would fight on Subcontinental soil.

Pondicherry, on the south-east or Carnatic coast of India, remained France's major headquarters in the subcontinent. By 1700, France had also set up trading posts at Surat (the now declining Mughal port on the Gujarat coast) and at Chandarnagar on the Hooghli River in the now relatively more prosperous Bengal.

End of Aurangzeb's Reign, 1707

By Aurangzeb's death in 1707, the Mughal navies had again fallen into disarray, while the Marathas were becoming more and more determined to control the coastal waters of their territories in western India. After this, it was the Marathas and the French, rather than the Mughals, who would challenge the English presence in the subcontinent.

The decline of both long-distance trade and Mughal authority encouraged the rise of feudal principalities in the present-day Frontier, Balochistan and Sindh regions. Tribal leaders were evolving into independent rulers served by local lords who had *de facto* control over

the land and its produce. Whether the post-Mughal feudalism was a step forward or backwards from the Mughal *jagirdari* system is an issue of great controversy among economic historians and has to be judged on a region to region basis. For the Frontier and Balochistan the beginning of the eighteenth century seems to have been a time of progress.

The Kabul-Ghazni-Peshawar area had never been brought thoroughly under Mughal administration. Aurangzeb had spent more than a year at Hasan Abdal suppressing the Pashtun tribes of the Frontier area. The tribesmen probably did not miss, and in fact enjoyed the decline of Mughal authority. Various tribal lands were now evolving into small principalities, for instance, those in the Khattak and Afridi territories.

Similarly, in Balochistan, the Kalati tribesmen were establishing a dynastic clan in the Kalat area. Aurangzeb had not only failed to win back Mughal control over the Kandahar area (lost by Shah Jehan) on the border between the old Persian and Mughal Empires, the Mughals had also been defeated by the Khan of Kalat, head of the Brahui Confederacy. The Ahmedzais would continue to be Khans of Kalat up to Kalat's accession to Pakistan in 1948.

The situation was more complicated in Sindh and Punjab. In spite of Mughal efforts to renovate Thatta's harbour under both Aurangzeb and his successor,. Sindh was suffering from the silting up of her harbours, while the nearby ports of Gujarat were under attack by the Marathas.

Bahadur Shah I, 1707-12

Aurangzeb's son and successor, Bahadur Shah I, immediately moved to improve relations between the Mughal government and the three major rebellious groups: the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Rajputs. Bahadur Shah was able to temporarily pacify the Rajputs, and the Marathas became embroiled in a civil war.

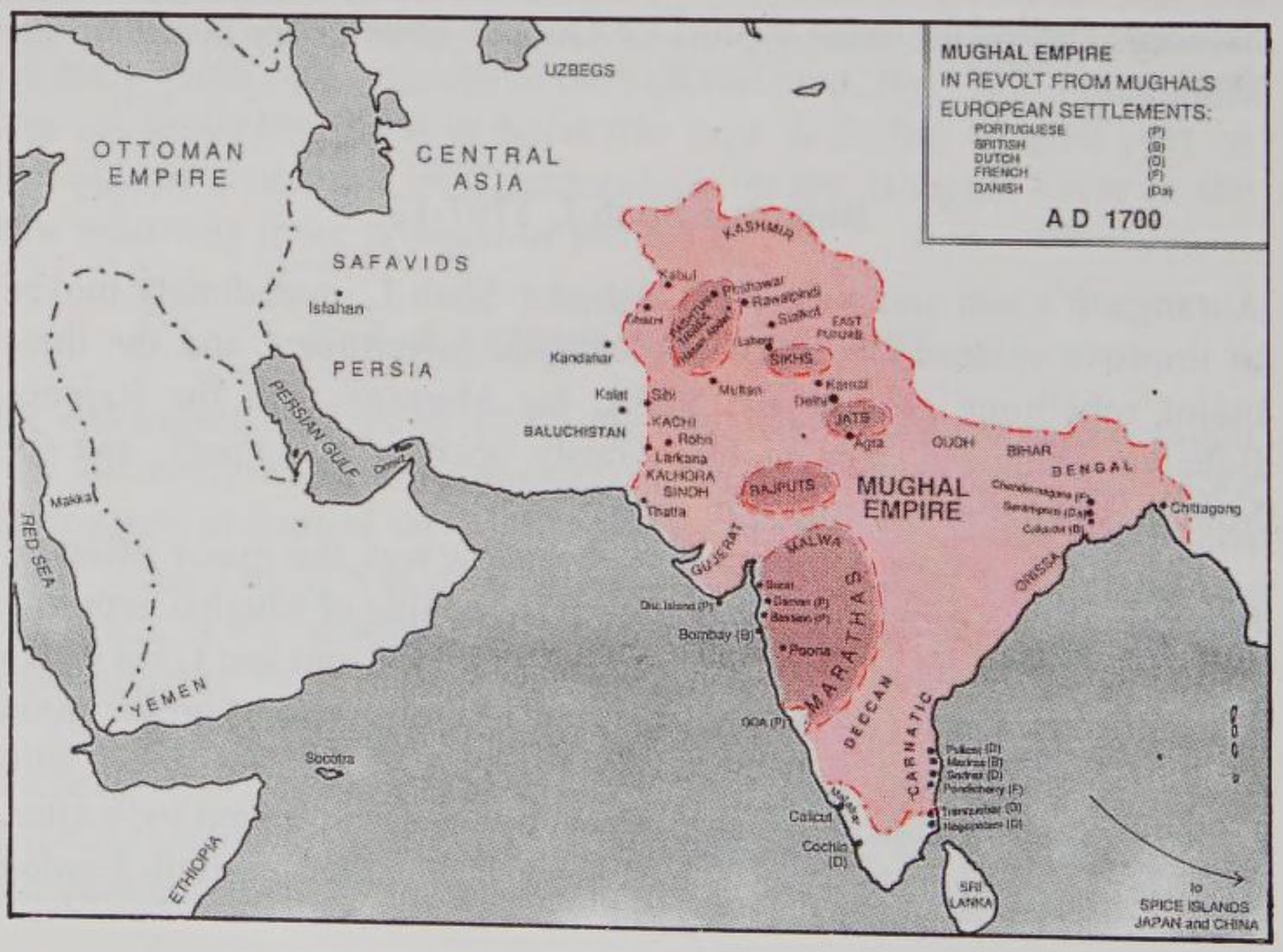
The Sikhs, whose temporary suppression was the major effort of Bahadur Shah's reign, had been a thorn in the side of Mughal authority since the beginning of Jehangir's reign. The tenth and last Guru of the Sikh religion, Guru Govind Singh, founded the *Khalsa* or brotherhood of initiated, militant Sikhs. At Aurangzeb's death, he sided with Bahadur Shah against the other princes, but he himself died soon after, in 1708. Guru Govind Singh's successor, who called himself *Bandah*

or slave, led what some have called a peasant war against Mughal rule in 1710. Bahadur Shah moved to Lahore to quell the Sikhs and succeeded in defeating them and in driving them into the hills.

The Decline of the Mughals, 1712-64

Bahadur Shah I was unfortunately an old man of sixty-three when he took the throne. It is said that by the age of seventy, the formerly competent ruler had become senile. At any rate, his death in 1712 was a signal for the break-up of the Mughal Empire. The economic weakness of the Mughal Empire, evident since 1657, now meant that the centre did not have the economic resources to control rebellious areas and dissident factions. After Bahadur Shah's death in Lahore, various armies converged on Lahore demanding their pay, rioting, looting and offering their services to different rivals for the throne.

The war of succession in Lahore after Bahadur Shah's death was followed by the rise to power of two unscrupulous nobles: the Sayyid Brothers. Between 1713 and 1720, these brothers deposed Bahadur Shah's incompetent successor and proceeded to make and unmake a series of six puppet emperors with the help of Maratha troops. The Delhi nobility, incapable of exercising any real power, sank into petty intrigue and moral corruption of all types. It was one of these puppets,



Farrukhsiyar, who granted the British customs-free trading privileges in Bengal, in gratitude for bribes, and the ministrations of a British medical doctor.

Shah Walliullah

In the subcontinent, Shah Walliullah was one of the first Muslims to see the weaknesses of his society. He decided that the Muslims of the subcontinent had become enmeshed in a web of un-Islamic attitudes and practices. Shah Walliullah wanted to free the minds of all Muslims by teaching them to understand and practice their religion. He took the Quranic injunction 'Read' seriously. In 1737-8 Shah Walliullah translated the Quran into simple Persian so that it would be more accessible to the Muslims of the subcontinent.

He wrote many works, trying to resolve various conflicts among the Muslims. He tried to reform Sufism and to develop a synthesis of the various Sufi schools of thought. He also worked to resolve the differences between those who emphasized Muslim law as formulated in medieval times and those who emphasized a return to the Hadith, or sayings and deeds of the Prophet (Peace be upon him). In his desire to both spread Islamic learning and to return to fundamentals, Shah Walliullah suggested a simplified syllabus for the *madrasahs*. The importance of the physical sciences was reduced and the traditional subjects of law, theology and Hadith were emphasized over the rational and intellectual disciplines of logic, philosophy, literature, and history.

Because of the unfortunate long-term effect this has had on the quality of traditional education (and its inability to compete with Westernized, secular education), some see Shah Walliullah as part of the anti-intellectual reaction to the earlier extremes of the Emperor Akbar and Aurangzeb's brother Dara Shikoh. Others, however, see his preachings against decadence and for social reform, his efforts to reform and adapt Sufism rather than reject it, and his encouragement of the study of the Quran and the Hadith, rather than a reliance upon commentaries, as breaths of fresh air and revitalization.

Two very different schools of Islamic thought now prevalent in Pakistan—the Deobandis and the Ahl-i-Hadith—both see themselves as followers of Shah Walliullah, while the third, the Barelavi, are very much a reaction to the first two. This makes it very difficult to summarize the lasting impact of Shah Walliullah's thought, but its extreme importance is obvious.

Present-day Pakistan Area, 1712

Several of the Mughal Viceroys or Governors now ruled the various provinces more or less independently. It was Farrukhsiyar's governor of the Punjab who accomplished a major and brutal suppression of the Sikhs in east Punjab in 1715. Bandah was captured, tortured and executed, but this did not help to preserve law and order, or encourage commerce in the Punjab. The Sikhs were temporarily reduced to small robber bands preying upon the merchants' caravans.

The next governor of the Punjab was Zakaria Khan, son of the previous governor. He ruled the Punjab wisely and well from 1727 to 1743 and was virtually independent of the Mughal court, but he could not prevent Sikh outlaws from destroying the prosperity of the major cities of the Punjab. Because of the widespread banditry, caravans now avoided the old trade routes, and merchants diverted their business to the north and south of the Punjab.

Some of the trade routes were diverted south of the Punjab to Upper Sindh, which continued to be ruled by its Mughal-appointed Kalhora governor, Yar Mohammed, from the first Kalhora capital at Khudabad in Larkana District. His son Nur Mohammed succeeded him in 1719. Nur Mohammed continued to consolidate Kalhora rule over Sindh. The Kalhoras' old rivals, the Daudpotas, were now practically driven out of Sindh. In 1745, Nur Mohammed built the Nur Mubarak Mosque at Rohri. It is said to house a hair from the beard of the Prophet (Peace be upon him).

Kashmir also benefited from the decline of the Punjab. The diversion of trade routes and the migration of merchants north to Kashmir encouraged the economic development of that area. Even before 1700, the English East India Company had been sending out designs to be copied by craftsmen in Kashmir and elsewhere, and Kashmiri shawls became very fashionable throughout Europe.

Mughals at Delhi

The sixth Mughal puppet emperor, Mohammed Shah, managed to become free of the Sayyid Brothers' control, but he continued to be a weak and pleasure-loving monarch. He presided gaily over a confused and highly corrupt court in Delhi for almost three decades. During his reign, the central authority of the Mughal Empire disintegrated, and the various Mughal provinces evolved into independent or semi-independent states.

The Marathas became the greatest power in the subcontinent, claiming and seizing much of the agricultural revenue of former Mughal lands. By 1737, the Marathas had extended their raids as far as the suburbs of Delhi. The semi-independent Nawab of the Deccan was willing (for a large sum) to come to the aid of the Mughal emperor, and he was able for the moment to defeat the Marathas, but the Nawab soon had to grant them large concessions to be allowed to rule the Deccan in relative peace. When the Marathas conquered Malwa, the Mughals at Delhi were cut off from the Deccan, their largest province.

Nadir Shah's Invasion, 1738, 1739

Now another threat to Mughal authority suddenly materialized: invasion from the north-west. Persia had been the Mughal Empire's most powerful neighbour, and had played an important role in almost every Mughal power struggle. The border between the Persian and Mughal Empires had often shifted back and forth. The great city of Kandahar was fought over during almost every Mughal reign, and much of Balochistan served as a buffer zone between the two mighty states.

By 1722, the Kandahar area, including part of Balochistan, was independent of both the Persians and the Mughals, and was being ruled by the local Khilji or Ghilzai tribe, of mixed Turkish and Afghan descent. Then a Ghilzai chief captured Isfahan in Persia, and mounted the Persian throne.

At this time, the Nawab of Hyderabad Deccan was still serving as Wazir to the Emperor Mohammed Shah, and he tried to convince the Mughal emperor to go to the aid of the Safavid King of Persia. Given the disunity and internal problems of the Mughal Empire, this might seem strange advice, but in fact it was the demise of the Safavid Dynasty of Persia, as well as the decline of the Mughal Dynasty, which created a power vacuum, leaving the present-day Pakistan area vulnerable to Turkish and Afghan invasions. These invasions would be a major factor of life in this area from 1736 to 1799.

It was a Turkish officer in the Persian army who set about restoring order to Persia. He first reinstated the Persian monarch, then deposed him and had himself crowned Nadir Shah. He captured Kandahar and overran much of Balochistan, but the Kalhora ruler of Sindh prepared to resist his advances, so he marched through Ghazni, Kabul and the Khyber Pass to Peshawar, which surrendered and was laid waste. The defeats of the Mughal governors of Kabul and Peshawar meant an end

to Mughal rule in the Frontier area. After having been defeated and taken prisoner, the former Mughal governor of Peshawar became one of Nadir Shah's important officers.

The Mughal armies opposed with determination but without success Nadir Shah's advances until he was encamped in the Shalimar Gardens outside Lahore. Then Zakaria Khan, the Mughal governor of Lahore, along with his hard-pressed merchants, negotiated the ransom of the city, and was reappointed governor by the conqueror. Nadir Shah also appointed a governor of Kashmir, had coins minted, and had many of his prisoners of war executed before marching on towards Delhi.

The Mughal government of Delhi had had plenty of warning of Nadir Shah's advance. Their army was encamped at Karnal, but their forces were demoralized. The invaders defeated them in a two-hour battle. When the populace of Delhi resisted, the city suffered untold looting and massacre in spite of the Mughal surrender. The Mughal emperor recognized Nadir Shah's sovereignty over territories west of the Indus.

Nadir Shah did not follow the Mughal Highway (G T Road) back to Kabul, as his advance had left that area desolate. He travelled a more northerly route, and was harassed by the Sikhs in the hills between Delhi and Lahore. He demanded another contribution from the citizens of Lahore, and then marched via Sialkot, keeping Zakaria Khan with him until he reached the Chenab River.

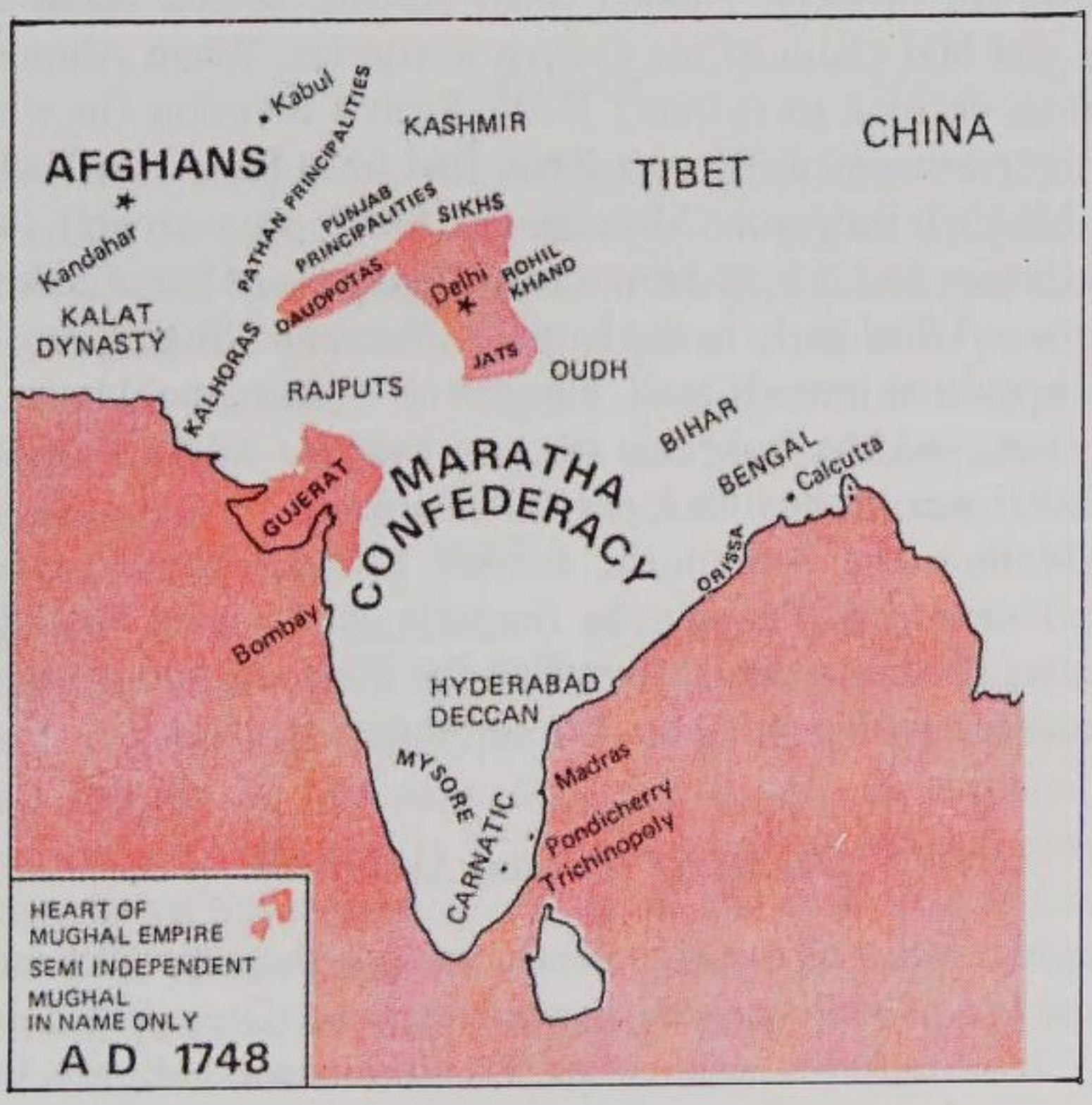
The Pasrur-Gujrat section of the Punjab, on the present-day Pakistan-India border, whose revenue traditionally had been used for the administration of the present-day Frontier area, was left under the governor of the Punjab, but an annual tribute was to be sent to Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah now rejoined the traditional route back west, past Rawalpindi and Hasan Abdal. He then attacked the Yusufzai Afghans of the Peshawar area. Unable to force his way through the Khyber Pass, he hired guides to lead his army through the backtrails.

One important effect of Nadir Shah's reign was the uprooting of a large number of these tribesmen, mostly Yusufzais, but also Afridis, who migrated to northern India and settled just east of Delhi between the upper Ganges River and the hills. They established their own kingdom, called Rohilkhand, and were to play an important role in the power struggles of northern India for more than a century. Nadir Shah moved on to Kabul before undertaking an expedition to punish the Mughal governor of Sindh, Khudyar Khan, for having earlier resisted him.

In 1736, the Mughal emperor Mohammed Shah had given the Kalhoras responsibility for ruling Lower as well as Upper Sindh, but the Kalhoras' powers were now diminished by Nadir Shah. The Kalhora ruler's three sons were taken hostage. He was left with control over the Thatta area on payment of an annual tribute. The Kalhoras' rivals, the Daudpotas, were now given back responsibility for Upper Sindh.

In return for providing fighting men, and in compensation for the death of their Khan, Nadir Shah transferred the Kachhi plains south of Sibi from the Kalhoras to the Brahui Confederacy under Nasir Khan Baloch of Kalat. After the Persian New Year (spring equinox) had been celebrated at Larkana in Sindh, Zakaria Khan, who had been summoned by Nadir Shah to assist his campaign, was sent back to Lahore, and Nadir Shah marched to Kandahar.

From 1713 to 1720, the influence of the Sayyid Brothers, and their own powerlessness, had succeeded in demoralizing the Mughal royal family. By 1738, the Marathas had deprived the Empire of much of its territory and even more of its income. In 1739, Nadir Shah's troops were carting off not only the treasure, or savings of the Mughal capital



of Delhi, but even many of its highly skilled artisans, professional people (medical doctors, etc.) and artists.

These three factors, i.e., the demoralization of the nobility in Delhi, the growing strength of the Marathas, and the damage which Nadir Shah's invasion did to the wealth and prestige of the Empire, were greatly responsible for the downfall of the Mughals. After Nadir Shah's invasion, the Mughals were incapable of controlling either the Marathas or the Sikhs, and it would not be long before the Empire would suffer more foreign attacks, both by land and by sea.

The First Afghan Invasion, 1748

After Zakaria Khan died in 1745, his eldest son continued his father's policy of persecution and extermination of the Sikhs in the Punjab. That son was ousted, however, in a five-month civil war by his younger brother, Shah Nawaz, who was governor of Multan. The younger brother also attempted to complete the suppression of the Sikhs, but the intrigues in the Punjab created an excellent climate for another invasion from the west.

Nadir Shah of Persia was dead. He had been assassinated, but one of his Afghan officers, Ahmed Shah Abdali, seized Nadir Shah's treasury and laid claim to his eastern territories. When Ahmed Shah the Afghan decided to re-enact Nadir Shah's invasion (in which he had earlier participated), Nawaz Khan fled from Lahore to Delhi.

The Mughal Emperor, Mohammed Shah, was unwell, but the Mughal Empire had not yet been rendered helpless. Although the Prime Minister was killed early in the battle, Mohammed Shah's son, Prince Ahmed, acquitted himself well, along with a young nobleman named Safdar Jang, and the governor of east Punjab, Adina Beg. Ahmed Shah Abdali was pushed back across the Indus.

Mir Mannu, the son of the former Prime Minister, was now appointed Viceroy of Punjab. The Emperor Mohammed Shah died six weeks after the battle which repulsed the First Afghan invasion. He was succeeded by his only son, Prince Ahmed in 1748.

Decline of Mughal Authority

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the subcontinent was a vast stage full of violence, drama and suspense. Great kingdoms rose and fell and vied with each other for dominance. Mighty invaders

advanced and retreated, resisted or assisted by the various rulers along their paths.

Almost every contender for power claimed to be loyal to Mughal authority. But after Mohammed Shah's death, the Mughal emperors were once more minor figures at the mercy of the many rival factions at the Delhi court. Countless alliances were made between the various Delhi factions and the real powers—the armies of the Marathas, Afghans, Jats, Sikhs and Europeans.

Prince Ahmed, who became the Mughal Emperor Ahmed Shah in 1748, was young and inexperienced. He started his reign by appointing the nobleman Safdar Jang as his Wazir or Prime Minister. Safdar Jang was also the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. Safdar Jang's two major aims in life were to break the power of the Turani, or 'foreign' family of the former Prime Minister, and to crush the Rohilla Afghans of northern India.

During the reign of Mohammed Shah, Safdar Jang had defeated the Rohilla chief, but Mohammed Shah and his Prime Minister had insisted upon making peace with the Afghans of Rohilkhand. Now that these two men were dead, Safdar Jang would have a free hand to pursue his two enemies.

Punjab

In the Pakistan area, it was the Afghan emperor, Ahmed Shah Abdali, who was the key figure during this period, rather than the Mughal Emperor, Ahmed Shah. Mir Mannu, the Mughal Viceroy of the Punjab, tried to defend the province from Afghan expansion, to control the Sikhs, and to maintain a Mughal administration complete with patronage of public building projects and Mughal architecture.

One example of late Mughal architecture is the *Saruwala Maqbara*, or cypress tomb, built in Lahore around 1750, for Sharfun Nisa Begum, the sister of the Lahore governor. It is situated near the Shalimar Gardens north of the G T Road as it runs toward the railway station. It is decorated with cypress trees in glazed tile mosaics.

Upon hearing of Mohammed Shah's death, the Afghan invader returned to the Lahore area in 1749 and forced the Mughal government to recognize his sovereignty over Sindh, and over that section of the Punjab whose revenue had earlier been ceded to Nadir Shah. For one and a half years after this Second Afghan invasion, the Punjab government followed a conciliatory policy towards the Sikhs. The

Sikhs made good use of this period to organize their independent bands of warriors (which had mostly formed in the course of harrying and looting withdrawing Afghan troops) into one army, the *Dal Khalsa*. This, in turn, was divided into twelve groups or *misls*, each based in a different area of the Punjab.

Because Mir Mannu was the son of the former Prime Minister, the new Prime Minister, Safdar Jang, did everything possible to undermine his authority. The governor of the east Punjab area claimed by the Afghans was now bribed by the Delhi Prime Minister to revolt against Mir Mannu, but he was defeated and sent off to Delhi.

The Prime Minister now appointed Nawaz Shah Khan (the younger brother, whose trouble-making had encouraged the first Afghan invasion) as independent governor of Multan. He then encouraged Nawaz Shah Khan to oust Mir Mannu. Safdar Jang himself was busy destroying the Bangash Afghans of Farrukhabad (northwest of Lucknow) in India, with the help of Jat and Maratha troops. Mir Mannu continued to rule the Punjab.

Maratha power had also continued to grow. Under Balaji Baji Rao, their second Peshwa, the Marathas were now expanding from their base in western central India. In 1751, the Marathas conquered Orissa on the east coast. They became more and more active in the Delhi power struggles. This state of affairs enabled the Afghan Ahmed Shah to conquer Lahore for a third time, despite Mir Mannu's determined resistance. Multan was also conquered and colonized with Afghans. The Mughal emperor formally ceded Multan and Lahore to the Afghans in 1752, while Safdar Jang was again away battling the Rohilla Afghans.

The Sikhs, of course, took advantage of the disturbed situation following this Third Afghan invasion. 1753, was spent in Mughal expeditions against Sikh raiding parties. Mir Mannu died in this year, but for some time his widow, Mughlani Begum, continued to rule the Punjab as the guardian of their three year old son. The Golden Mosque, or *Sonheri Masjid*, was built by Mughlani Begum shortly after Mir Mannu's death in 1753. It is in the Walled City of Lahore near the Wazir Khan Mosque.

Delhi

By this time in Delhi, Safdar Jang had made many important enemies, including the emperor's mother, Mohammed Shah's widow. With the

help of the Jats, Safdar Jang went into open rebellion. He was defeated with the assistance of the Rohilla Afghan, Najib Khan, who had been born in a village near Peshawar, but had migrated to Rohilkhand.

Najib Khan, who was now given the title Najib-ud-daula, played an important role in Delhi from 1753 to 1770. Things could not have been more confused there. Nobles grouped themselves according to the area their families had come from (Iran or Afghanistan), or according to their religious sect (Shia or Sunni).

The different groups allied themselves with the Marathas, Jats and Rohillas. A new Prime Minister now proceeded to have the Mughal Emperor Ahmed Shah blinded, and imprisoned, and a new emperor, entitled Alamgir II, enthroned in 1754.

Mughlani Begum of Lahore attempted to placate both the Mughal and Afghan emperors, but the Mughal government had her removed and the Lahore province was assigned to Adina Beg Khan, who would now be the central figure in the Punjab's resistance to Afghan expansion. The changes in Delhi and Lahore prompted Ahmed Shah Abdali's Fourth invasion, during which he paid an extremely destructive visit to Delhi. In 1757, his troops sacked the city and hauled their loot away.

The Frontier, Balochistan and Sindh

Ahmed Shah Abdali's Afghan Empire now formally stretched from east of the Indus to the Oxus in the west. The lands west of the Indus had been lost to the Mughal Empire since the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. The Frontier and Balochistan were now quite close to the centre of Afghan power. Balochistan and the NWFP area, which had never been brought thoroughly under Mughal administration, suffered less from the dissolution of its authority. The tribal leaders of these areas actually improved their positions by providing fighting men to the invaders of the subcontinent, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali.

Nasir Khan the Great, Khan of Kalat from about 1750 to 1794, slowly readjusted Kalat's relationship with Kandahar, asserting his autonomy while continuing to provide fighting men in return for money and munitions. This relationship culminated in a tradition of intermarriage between the royal families of Kalat and Afghanistan which has continued to this day. Nasir Khan was now able to develop a governmental structure for Kalat, and to expand into Kharan, the Makran and Las Bela including Karachi.

Nasir Khan's Khanate of Kalat was propped up by five semi-independent Brahui Chieftains of the Sarawan-Jhalawan area, and he owed allegience to the Afghan invader. Balochistan was in the process of evolving from a tribal to a feudal society, but because of the low level of agricultural production, would-be feudal rulers would always need outside empires to subsidize their rule in return for providing fighting men.

The Punjab and Sindh constituted the Afghan Empire's still unpacified eastern border. Although the Kalhoras of Sindh paid tribute to both Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali, they managed to establish themselves as virtually independent rulers by 1758. The Kalhoras are credited with contributing significantly to Sindh's recovery from the last years of Mughal misrule and from the depredations of the two invaders. They made changes in the agricultural administration inherited from the Mughals, had irrigation canals dug and attempted to encourage trade.

The traders of the English East India Company were interested, in 1758, in reopening trade at Thatta and its port, Shah Bunder, after an absence of thirty-six years. The English thought that there was now a chance of establishing a monopoly in the export of saltpetre (used for making gun-powder), and they hoped that there would be a demand from the northwest for woollen cloth, now that Sindh was part of the Afghan Empire.

Ghulam Shah Kalhora granted the Company the right to establish a trading post, or factory, at Thatta. The Sindh government offered to help the English agents buy or build houses at Shah Bunder or Thatta. The English were excused from paying most taxes. They had to pay much lower customs duties on imported goods than did the local merchants, and their personal luggage was not to be searched.

Three years later, the grant was confirmed with even more trading privileges, including the exclusion of all other Europeans from trading in Sindh. The English trading post at Thatta was in contact with Karachi, although Karachi at this time not much more than a mud hut fishing village, and was still ruled by the Khan of Kalat.

The French and the First War of the Carnatic, 1744-8

In 1720, the French reorganized themselves, occupied Mauritius, and began to establish the French presence more firmly on Indian soil. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, lived in princely

splendour with his remarkable and absolutely unscrupulous half-Indian wife who ran a spy service to obtain information about the English in India.

From 1744 to 1748 the French and English were fighting in Europe. The French governor of Mauritius sailed to the English base of Madras with a large fleet and captured it in 1746. The French were unable to inflict any more defeats on the English, however, because the Mauritius governor refused to co-operate with Dupleix. In 1748 a treaty was signed between the two countries in Europe, and Madras was returned to the English in exchange for an island in North America. Although there was no permanent conquest, this first Carnatic war exposed the weakness of the local rulers. The Nawab of the Carnatic had not been able to stop the English and French from carrying on a war in his territories.

In the same year (1748), both the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan and the Nawab of the Carnatic died. Dupleix decided to support new rulers who were friendly to French interests. The new Nizam of the Deccan came to power with French help, and a French force was stationed at his capital of Hyderabad. The revenue of the Northern Sarkars, the coastline north of the Carnatic, was to be used to pay for the French troops. Dupleix himself was awarded a big estate or *jagir*, and an impressive title. The Nizam was now a puppet of the French.

The Second or 'Unofficial' Carnatic War, 1751-4

Dupleix attempted to accomplish the same goal in regard to the Carnatic. The French placed their candidate, Chanda Sahib, on the throne. Chanda Sahib, with the aid of French troops, proceeded to attack the rival candidate at Trichinopoly. But now the British realized that they must act quickly or their trading posts and investments in the Carnatic would be endangered. Thus began the Second Carnatic War between the English and the French. This was an unofficial war because the two European nations had just signed a peace treaty.

The activities of the Europeans in the Carnatic did not attract much attention elsewhere in the subcontinent. In those days private armies were maintained by anyone with the means to maintain them. European adventurers often hired themselves out as advisers or officers, although generally at sea. The significance of the fighting in the Carnatic was that it was carried out by officers of the officially recognized trading companies of the respective countries, and for influence over sizeable pieces of territory.

Robert Clive

Robert Clive was a reckless, unstable person, whose violence and daring played an important role in the British conquest of the subcontinent. As a boy, he was always in trouble. At one point he is said to have led his classmates into the ditches in a rebellion against school rules. Having been thrown out of several schools, he was sent to India at the age of 18, and found his clerical job there so boring that he tried to blow his brains out with a pistol.

Clive was allowed to join the small military force at Madras. At twenty-one, he led the daring occupation of Arcot, capital of the French favourite, Chanda Sahib. This action successfully diverted Chanda Sahib's troops away from Trichonopoly, and Chanda Sahib was replaced by the British candidate in 1752.

In the meantime, however, the French were strengthening their position in the Deccan. The French officer Bussy became the adviser to the new Nizam and was allotted the revenue of the Northern Sarkars for payment of his troops. Both the French and English governments disapproved of these unauthorized alliances and wars. Dupleix was recalled to France in 1754, where he had to face many questions about his corruption.

The Battle of Plassey, 1757

The people of the Delhi area, plundered by the Afghans and enmeshed in power struggles, took little notice either of the struggle in the Carnatic, or of a battle waged some eight hundred miles away between the British and the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal. This was the Battle of Plassey. It took place in a mango grove near Murshidabad in Bengal in 1757, and marked the real beginning of British rule in the subcontinent. It caused immense riches to be carried back to England as private fortunes, and it sentenced the most prosperous and economically advanced region of the subcontinent to poverty and, to date, irreversible decline.

This amazing train of events started with a pre-emptive strike against all of the Europeans by the new, young Viceroy of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daula. Noticing that the various European trading companies were fortifying their trading posts, (against the Maratha threat and each other), Siraj-ud-daula ordered them to disarm.

All but the English complied. Siraj-ud-daula seized the English post at Kassim Bazaar and marched on the English at Calcutta. After four days' resistance, the English commanding officer panicked and fled with some of his men in boats, leaving some members of his garrison behind. These were put in the post's lock-up overnight, resulting in the deaths of about forty-three of the prisoners from lack of ventilation in what came to be called the Black Hole of Calcutta. Those who fled sent news to their headquarters and spent an uncomfortable six months at Diamond Harbour where many men died of fever.

Because of the world-wide power struggle between England and France, there happened to be a British fleet, with an army, in the harbour at Madras when news of Siraj-ud-daula's offensive arrived. The fleet was sent to Calcutta. Its troops were under the leadership of Robert Clive, who had already made a name for himself with his exploits in the Indian peninsula.

Clive set about reconquering Calcutta. He was able to negotiate a new and more favourable treaty with Siraj-ud-daula, who was worried about a new Afghan invasion. He destroyed the French trading post of Chandarnagar. All the while, he was conspiring with the local merchants and bankers of Bengal, who wanted the British to replace Siraj-ud-daula with someone more friendly to business interests. Clive's easy successes so far convinced him of the possibility of replacing the current Mughal Viceroy with a puppet.

Mir Jafar, Siraj-ud-daula's commander-in-chief and father-in-law, had already been plotting against his young ruler, and he was happy to join the conspiracy. Clive had learned the art of replacing local rulers during his service in Carnatica. The battle was not very interesting militarily. The young English officer heading the attackers was facing a much larger army, but the outcome was not surprising given the treachery and demoralization on the side of the Viceroy, and the superiority of the British canons. With Mir Jafar's co-operation, Clive's small force easily defeated the Viceroy's large army. Siraj-ud-daula was tracked down and killed, and Mir Jafar was made the new Nawab of Bengal.

From then on, the British would appoint and remove the Nawabs of Bengal at their pleasure. After his victory at Plassey in 1757, Clive could have claimed complete authority over Bengal, or even marched on Delhi, but he found it much more profitable for himself and his colleagues to demand as much wealth as possible while spending no time or money on administering the area. And he decided that open

British rule would only arouse the opposition of the local population and the jealousy of the other Europeans.

Third War of the Carnatic, 1758-61

Like the English, the French had also sent a fleet to the Indian Ocean to carry on the current war, but by the time their Commander, Lally, arrived in April 1758, the English had conquered the rich province of Bengal and were in any case masters of the seas. The French had lost their chance; Lally captured Fort St. David, but was unable to capture Madras. He could not get the co-operation of the resident French traders and made the great mistake of recalling Bussy from Hyderabad, thus losing Hyderabad for the French.

In 1758, the adventurous Clive, always ready to take calculated risks, sent most of his English troops to aid an Indian ruler against the French in the Northern Sarkars. Nevertheless, Clive was still able to repel an invasion by the Shahzada Gauhar Ali, the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II's son, who attempted to invade Bihar with the help of Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh, in 1759.

The English troops returned victorious from defeating the French in time to chase away a Dutch show of force which materialized in 1759, perhaps in support of Mir Jafar, who was now getting restless in British hands. The Shahzada, who arrived once more in 1760, this time with the help of the Marathas, was again repulsed, and Mir Jafar was replaced by Mir Qasim as Nawab of Bengal.

Robert Clive now felt that the English position in Bengal was secure. He decided to retire to England to enjoy the large fortune which he had obtained during these few years of rule through private business deals, presents, bribes, and the revenue from a huge *jagir* of land assigned to Clive at the time of Mir Jafar's accession as Nawab. The men Clive left behind would be even more greedy in their grabbing of presents, bribes, and duty-free profits.

Elsewhere in India, the English East India Company was putting an end to the possibility of French power in the subcontinent. In 1760, the French were defeated at Wandiwash. Pondicherry fell to the British after a prolonged siege in 1761. By the end of the Seven Years War in Europe in 1763, the French presence in the subcontinent was mainly limited to private military men who hired themselves out, and often played important roles as officers in the armies of the various Indian rulers.

In the eyes of the people, the local rulers, and the Europeans themselves, all of the Europeans, both as individuals and as representatives of national trading companies, played an insignificant role in the subcontinent not only politically, but also economically. Although the profits of the East Indian trade were becoming important to the English economy, the trade of all the Europeans together seemed insignificant compared to that of the various local business communities of the subcontinent. At almost any port, business with Europeans made up only a fraction of the imports and exports.

Robert Clive was one man who realized that all this would now change. He understood the power of the English. What no one seemed to understand, however, was that the subcontinent was not infinitely wealthy. Behind the lavish lifestyles of the nobility lay the impoverishment of the peasants, artisans and small tradesmen. Unknown to either the foreign traders or the local elites, the ordinary people, the producers of wealth, were already overburdened. The additional demands of the English would cause Bengal's economy to collapse completely. Now began the 'Rape of Bengal', damage which would culminate in the famine of 1770, and from which this once rich land has still not recovered.

CONCLUSION: 1685-1761

Success of the English Nation-state

In less than one century we see the Mughal rulers declining from their position as the paramount power in the subcontinent to mere puppets, their capital repeatedly sacked by foreign invaders, while the English East India Company evolved from one of several small trading companies to a major political and military power, capable of confronting and defeating both the Mughals and their European rivals, the French.

We have examined the causes of Mughal decline. It was the lack of unity which allowed the British to break into the subcontinent.What is often forgotten is the vastness of the Indian subcontinent and the artificiality and fleetingness of its unity—it had been temporarily unified under various great emperors (Ashoka, Mohammed bin Tughluq, Aurangzeb, etc.), as had Europe, but there had never been a permanent unity in either the European Continent or the Indian subcontinent.

France and England, for various historical and geographical reasons, unlike most of the world even today, had evolved strong national identities, so that they could win and lose empires without losing their base. The Marathas and Afghans had not yet evolved into that sort of nation-state when they attempted to supplant the Mughal Empire. The Marathas could not maintain unified rule over their conquests outside of the Maratha homeland: the governors of the various provinces fought among themselves and did not come to each others' aid against outsiders. The Afghans, just building a national identity, preferred to centre themselves in their homeland where they have remained poor but independent up to today, rather than shift their centre eastwards and gain a new identity, like the Mughals had done before them.

Hyderabad Deccan, which was the true heir to the Mughal identity, had survived by compromise, and by playing its opponents off against each other ever since the Nizam-ul-Mulk moved south in 1724. Then his successor, Nizam Ali, ruled competently, playing off the British and the French, the Marathas and Mysore. He would finally have to sign a subsidiary treaty in 1800, shortly before his death in 1802, but this ensured Hyderabad's survival and semi-independence as the largest princely state until after Independence.

Oudh, Bihar and Bengal, the other successors to Mughal identity, comprised the most prosperous and economically advanced areas in the subcontinent. The decline and fall of Mughal authority meant a concentration of economic leadership in Bengal, where merchants and bankers migrated to be safe from the depredations of the Marathas, the Sikhs, Afghans, etc. But the revival of international trade from Bengal was from the first inextricably tied to the Europeans; at first to the Dutch, but increasingly, to the English. At first Bengal used its Western business contacts for further advancement. But when the merchants and bankers of Bengal decided to invite the English to help them overthrow the old Mughal authority, they did not realize the invisible strength of English unity and seapower.

The British had decided back in 1685 to seize territory. They had tried and failed against Aurangzeb's Mughal government in Bengal and Bombay. But they had persevered in establishing various footholds all along the coasts, and their naval power was now second to none.

The Bengali merchants were not able to carry on their trade alone, and when the other Europeans were driven out, these merchants were at the mercy of the English. Once the English had obtained a secure foothold in Bengal, while maintaining their seapower, their links to

their homeland and their unity, it would be virtually impossible to drive them out.

Why was it the English who were able to take advantage of Mughal decline? The two major reasons were inseparable from each other: seapower and unity. These made the English East India Company like a many-headed sea monster: you could successfully hack away at one head in one location, but other heads would arrive in its defence, or at most, the head would be driven out, only to return later to wreak greater damage.

English unity was not so much unity on the subcontinent, where there was all sorts of insubordination, but unity with the home country—a constant interest and support shown by headquarters in London for the Company, and a constant interest on the part of the Englishmen in repeatedly returning home to display riches and exercise power.

These links were not seen in British ventures in less populated, less developed lands, where Englishmen settled down and built up a new identity as Americans, Australians, South Africans, etc. Nor were they seen in the other major group of Europeans in the subcontinent—the French.

Some historians feel that it was the cultural and religious differences between the English and French which caused the English to remain more aloof from the people of the subcontinent. Others consider that it was simply a result of England's success in keeping just ahead of France in seapower, thus weakening the French officers' support from Paris, while allowing the English to preserve their close connections with their homeland. Denied support by their government for various reasons, the French remained proud of their homeland, but resigned themselves to subordination to their employers: the various Indian rulers.

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Afghan Supremacy, 1761-73

Afghan Supremacy, 1761-73

The paramount power of the Great Moghul was broken by the Moghul Viceroys. The power of the Viceroys was broken by the Mahrattas. The power of the Mahrattas was broken by the Afghans, and while all were struggling against all, the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all.

Karl Marx, *New York Daily Tribune,*
8 August 1853

The affairs of Bengal went practically unnoticed in the rest of northern India, as the Marathas, Sikhs and Afghans grappled for the right to consider themselves the true successors to Mughal power. During this period, the various sections of the Pakistan area were adjusting to, and coping with the absence of Mughal authority. The Frontier and Balochistan were more closely integrated into the Afghan Empire than they ever had been in the Mughal Empire.

The Punjab and Sindh were, however, confronted with the double strife of internal power struggles and constant Afghan invasions. The Sikh-Afghan struggle in the Punjab simply took over where the Sikh-Mughal struggle had left off, forging on the one hand, a fierce sense of Punjabi identity and on the other, an ambivalence between regional and religious loyalty, on the parts of both Muslims and Sikhs. Both the religious and regional loyalties are very much alive today.

After his 1757 invasion, Ahmed Shah Abdali left his son, Prince Timur Shah, in charge of his territories east of the Indus, including Lahore and Multan, before returning to his capital, Kandahar. When Timur Shah marched on the Sikhs' sacred city of Amritsar in eastern Punjab, the enraged Sikhs occupied the territory around Lahore. Now Adina Beg Khan co-operated with the Sikhs and invited Maratha aid to oust the Afghan prince.

The Marathas, who had been camped at Delhi to take part in the power struggles there, entered Lahore in 1758, along with Adina Beg's troops. Timur Shah and his assistants were pursued as far as Attock, before the Marathas decided to return to their own territories in the Deccan.

The Afghan emperor, Ahmed Shah Abdali, had been battling a rebel chieftain in Balochistan, but now he marched on the Punjab. Adina Beg Khan retreated into the hills only until Ahmed Shah's departure, when he consolidated his position in the Punjab. At this point, Adina Beg Khan was stricken with colic and died. His widow took over management of his base area, while the Marathas were invited once more to Lahore. They arrived in great force, appointed one of their own men governor of Lahore and pushed their troops once more to Attock. Now the Marathas began to dream of ruling all of northern India, with or without Mughal blessings.

The Third Battle of Panipat

After 1758, the people of the subcontinent—or at least its educated ruling classes—realized that the power of the mighty Mughal Empire was at least temporarily broken. It did not occur to them that the Europeans could ever be anything more than, at best, useful business contacts, like the Arabs and Chinese, or at worst, minor nuisances. They were aware, however, of the increasing importance of the Marathas and the Afghans.

Just as Babur's occupation of the present-day Pakistan area two hundred years before had signalled the beginning of the Mughal era in the subcontinent, it seemed to many of the educated Muslim elite that Ahmed Shah Abdali was now establishing a base in their territories from which the future Afghan Empire of the subcontinent, would grow to replace the fast-declining Mughal Empire.

Some Muslims felt that a new Muslim conqueror would be a preferable successor to the Mughals than the non-Muslim Marathas who had emerged as the leading contenders for the dominance of the subcontinent. The Marathas were now at the height of their expansion, controlling most of the subcontinent with the exceptions of the lands west of the Indus, eastern Bengal, and the very southern tip of the peninsula. Even the territories not under their control to the east and south paid them tribute.

Among the Muslims who preferred Afghan to Maratha rule were Shah Walliullah, the great Islamic thinker and Quranic translator, and Malika-i-Zamani, widow of the late Mughal emperor, Mohammed Shah. With their encouragement, Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla Afghan, organized a Muslim Confederacy to co-operate with the Afghan emperor, Ahmed Shah Abdali. He was joined by other Rohilla Afghan chiefs and by Shuja-ud-daula, who had succeeded Safdar Jang as Wazir of Oudh. The Emperor Alamgir II was put to death by his Prime Minister in 1759 for co-operating with Najib-ud-daula, and a puppet was placed on the throne.

In 1759, Ahmed Shah Abdali was once more on the offensive. With the help of the Rohilla Afghans, he defeated the Marathas in Lahore and drove them out of the Punjab. Many months were spent in preparation. (The famous canon, the Zam-Zama, now Kim's Gun in Lahore, was cast at this time.) The two mighty powers fought at Panipat in 1761. The Muslim confederacy was the victor and Maratha dreams of ruling the old Mughal Empire were destroyed forever.

Ahmed Shah Abdali, to everyone's surprise, did not remain in Delhi to consolidate a new empire. Two centuries before, Babur had with great difficulty managed to persuade his homesick army to remain on the hot plains of India; but like Alexander of Greece, thousands of years ago, Ahmed Shah Abdali was not able to do this and reluctantly accompanied his men back to Kabul.

Ahmed Shah Abdali recognized the Shahzada, rebellious son of Alamgir II, as the next Mughal emperor under the title Shah Alam, and Shuja-ud-daula as Prime Minister of the Mughal Empire as well as of Oudh. Najib-ud-daula continued as Regent at Delhi until his death in 1770.

Ahmed Shah, like Nadir Shah, claimed that he was simply trying to sort out affairs in his legitimate territories, ceded to him by the Mughal Emperor, and that his advances on Delhi were in response to the confused situation there. Delhi did enjoy almost a decade of calm after Panipat, under Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla Afghan whom Ahmed Shah Abdali had appointed his Regent.

But Shah Alam, who had left Delhi in rebellion against his father, stayed on in Oudh with Shuja-ud-daula. Oudh was now becoming the cultural and political centre for north India, and many writers and artists took refuge there from the unsettled conditions elsewhere.

Migrants from the Frontier area now assumed crucial importance in Delhi politics. Although neither these Afghan migrants from the

Peshawar area to Rohilkhand, nor the Afghan officers from Kandahar and Kabul proved capable of building a new Muslim-led Empire in the northern subcontinent, they did prevent the establishment of a Maratha Empire in the north.

Some historians wonder whether Mughal blessings on Maratha power would have encouraged people of the different religions of the subcontinent to continue to progress in learning to work together, and in bringing the area into a new post-Mughal socio-economic system as modern as anything developing in the West. By the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, however, it was already too late for a successful subcontinent-wide resistance to British conquest.

One can argue that the Rohilla Afghans and those Muslims in Delhi who opted for the Afghans over the Marathas were the real mothers and fathers of the Pakistan Movement. If Maratha-Sikh co-operation had been allowed to succeed in keeping the Afghans west of the Indus, it is quite possible that present-day India would include all of Punjab and Sindh east of the Indus, while modern-day Afghanistan would stretch to encompass Balochistan and the Frontier west of that river, with no Pakistan at all.

The Battle of Buxor

Mir Qasim was appointed Nawab of Bengal by the British in 1760. In 1763, there was a violent quarrel with the employees of the English East India Company over their insistence upon having more trading privileges than the local merchants. Some of the British argued that Farrukhsiyar's grant of customs-free trade applied to their private business within Bengal as well as to the Company's international dealings. The Governor and his board were in disagreement. When Clive's replacement worked out a compromise with Mir Qasim, the English employees refused to go along with it. The Indian sepoys employed by the British mutinied for the first time in 1763 and were harshly suppressed.

Mir Qasim left Bengal and asked the Mughal emperor and Shuja-ud-daula to support him against the British. This resulted in the Battle of Buxor, in 1764. It was more of a real battle than the one at Plassey, and the participation of the emperor added to the prestige of the British victory. The emperor signed over the right of revenue collection in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the British, and Oudh was from this time onwards under British political influence.

Clive Returns

This treaty was arranged by Robert Clive upon his return in 1765, from England to Bengal. He was sent by the Directors of the English East India Company in London, to bring some order into the affairs of the Company in Bengal. Individual British traders were retiring to England with huge personal fortunes which they had amassed doing their own private business in the subcontinent. Meanwhile, the Company itself was losing money. In the rush for private profits, the Company's international trade was ignored while its funds were being spent not on investments in goods, but on the various military actions against the French, the Dutch and the local rulers.

Clive restored the Company's formal allegiance to the Mughal emperor, and attempted to restore the flow of Bengal's wealth into the Company's hands, rather than into those of private individuals. While Clive's efforts were an indication of the Company's desire for some sort of moderation and respectability, they actually did very little to arrest the demise of Mughal authority or the ruin of Bengal.

Clive was instructed to stop the company's employees from carrying on their private businesses, and to get them back working for the Company, but he was not allowed to increase their salaries. He tried to work out another compromise, whereby the employees could deal only in certain goods, including salt and opium. This was also forbidden by the Company, but not before it made a lot of money for Clive's colleagues.

When the Company decided to save money by lowering the salaries of its European military officers, the officers rebelled and Clive had to force them back to work and send some of them back to England as prisoners. Clive himself went back to England in 1767. Clive was optimistic about Company profits. When the British government, greedy for a share in the loot, threatened to take over the Company in 1767, he assured his directors that profits would be sufficient to satisfy both the government and Company shareholders.

The Rise of Haider Ali and the First Mysore War, 1767-9

Although British power was now supreme in the north-eastern part of the subcontinent, the Kingdom of Mysore in south-eastern India remained a barrier to British imperialism for almost half a century, from 1755 to 1799. Around 1761, a young soldier Haider Ali, rose

through the ranks of the armed forces and became the virtual ruler of Mysore. At first the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan combined with the English against Mysore in 1767, but Haider Ali persuaded them to withdraw. In 1769 his troops were at the walls of Madras, and a treaty favourable to Mysore was signed by the British ending the first Anglo-Mysore War.

The Bengal Famine, 1770

Clive's policies were continued by the two governors who managed the Company's Bengal affairs from 1767 to 1772. In 1770, when the Company surprisingly found itself in need of a government loan in order to keep sending its ships to the subcontinent, the government decided to investigate matters.

In the words of an English observer:

> I was in the House [of Parliament] all this day, and had the mortification to hear the transactions in India, for these last sixteen years, treated without distinction as a disgrace to this nation; but without the smallest idea of restoring to the injured natives of India the territories and revenues said to have been so unjustly acquired. (Resolution: ill-gotten gains should be handed over to the British government!)

Between 1756 and 1770, one of the richest, most fertile, and most economically advanced areas in the world became one of the most pathetic, with one-third of the population dying either of starvation or of the epidemic diseases which accompany famine. The bad crop was caused by a lack of rain, but the terrible effects were caused by fourteen years of dual rule.

Dual rule meant that the British (while they were excused from paying customs taxes themselves) took the lion's share of all taxes collected, mostly from agriculture, while the local 'rulers' were expected to look after the government of the area. The sort of men who were set up by the British as puppet rulers, were, of course, not worried about the welfare of the people. They were trying to keep their British masters pleased by forwarding them sufficient revenue while enriching themselves by gouging even more out of the poor farmers, shopkeepers, and craftsmen.

By the year of the bad harvest, the common people were so impoverished that they had no reserves to fall back on, while their local officials continued to tax them at even higher rates than before. Some of the British residents in Bengal expressed shock and sadness

at the condition of the people, but continued to accept the revenue payments and did nothing to help the people. They told themselves, wrongly, that it must be the custom in India for the rulers to make no efforts to organize relief in such circumstances.

Shah Alam and the Kingdom of Delhi, 1770-2

The old centre of Delhi meanwhile, had completed its evolution from centre of power to power vacuum with the death of the Regent Najib-ud-daula in 1770. The power struggle began again. Having tried and failed to oust the British (the failure culminating in the Battle of Buxor in 1764), the emperor was faced with the choice of continuing to live as a British puppet in Allahabad or returning to Delhi to attempt to revive Mughal rule.

In 1772 Shah Alam made the brave decision to return. His capable Minister, Mirza Najaf Khan, a Persian, helped him to keep the Sikhs, Jats and even the Marathas at bay. But Najaf Khan also became the rival of Najib-ud-daula's son. The Emperor Shah Alam was accompanied by Mahadji Sindhia, a Maratha who was a lifelong enemy of Najib-ud-daula's family which had played such a great part in the destruction of Maratha dreams at Panipat. This era in Delhi, from about 1770 to 1803 was called the Great Anarchy, or Time of Troubles.

Ahmed Shah Abdali versus the Sikhs

Following the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, Kashmir was annexed by the Afghans in 1762. The Afghan Empire had now reached its greatest extent, but Ahmed Shah Abdali's supremacy in the Punjab was hotly contested by the Sikhs. In 1760 and 1761, while he was occupied around Delhi and Panipat, the Sikhs rose everywhere, and one chief even plundered the outskirts of Lahore.

After his victory, Ahmed Shah granted another Sikh chief, Ala Singh, permission to rule east Punjab in return for tribute. He defeated the Sikhs around Lahore and arranged an Afghan government for the Lahore area before returning to his capital at Kandahar. When his Lahore governor went to Gujranwala to destroy a Sikh fort there, the Sikhs rose again and defeated him and other Afghan officers who were settled in the Jullundur area.

As a result in 1762, Ahmed Shah Abdali launched an extermination campaign against the Sikhs during which he remained at Lahore for one year, and razed at least one Sikh temple. His campaign had the opposite effect of what was planned. The threat of extermination served to cement Sikh militancy, determination and national feeling. The Sikhs held a Council of War, or *Gurumata*, at Amritsar and then launched their counter-offensive, attacking Kasur, Sirhind. Finally, in February 1764, Lahore had to ransom itself from the Sikhs. Ahmed Shah Abdali paid a visit but, after only two weeks in Lahore he had to turn back to deal with an uprising in his western territories.

The Sikhs Rule Lahore, 1764–1849

At his departure, three Sikh leaders attacked and entered Lahore. They divided the city into three parts and each ruled his portion for the next thirty years, until the advent of Ranjit Singh. Thus, Lahore would now be in Sikh hands until the coming of the British some eighty years later.

In 1767, Ahmed Shah Abdali, old and ill, once more entered the Pakistan area. He now realized the impossibility of administering the Punjab from Kandahar. Lahore was left as it was, but northern Punjab and the Peshawar area remained important parts of the Afghan Empire.

Ala Singh, who had been entrusted with east Punjab, had died, and Najib-ud-daula, Regent of Delhi, wanted it assigned to his own son. On the advice of Ala Singh's widow, Fatta, however, Ahmed Shah Abdali bestowed the area on the grandson of Ala Singh and Fatta in return for the annual tribute.

Death of Ahmed Shah Abdali, 1773

Cancer of the face caused Ahmed Shah to retire to a fortress in the Suleiman Mountains, leaving the business of government more and more to his second son, Timur Shah. Ahmed Shah Abdali died in 1773.

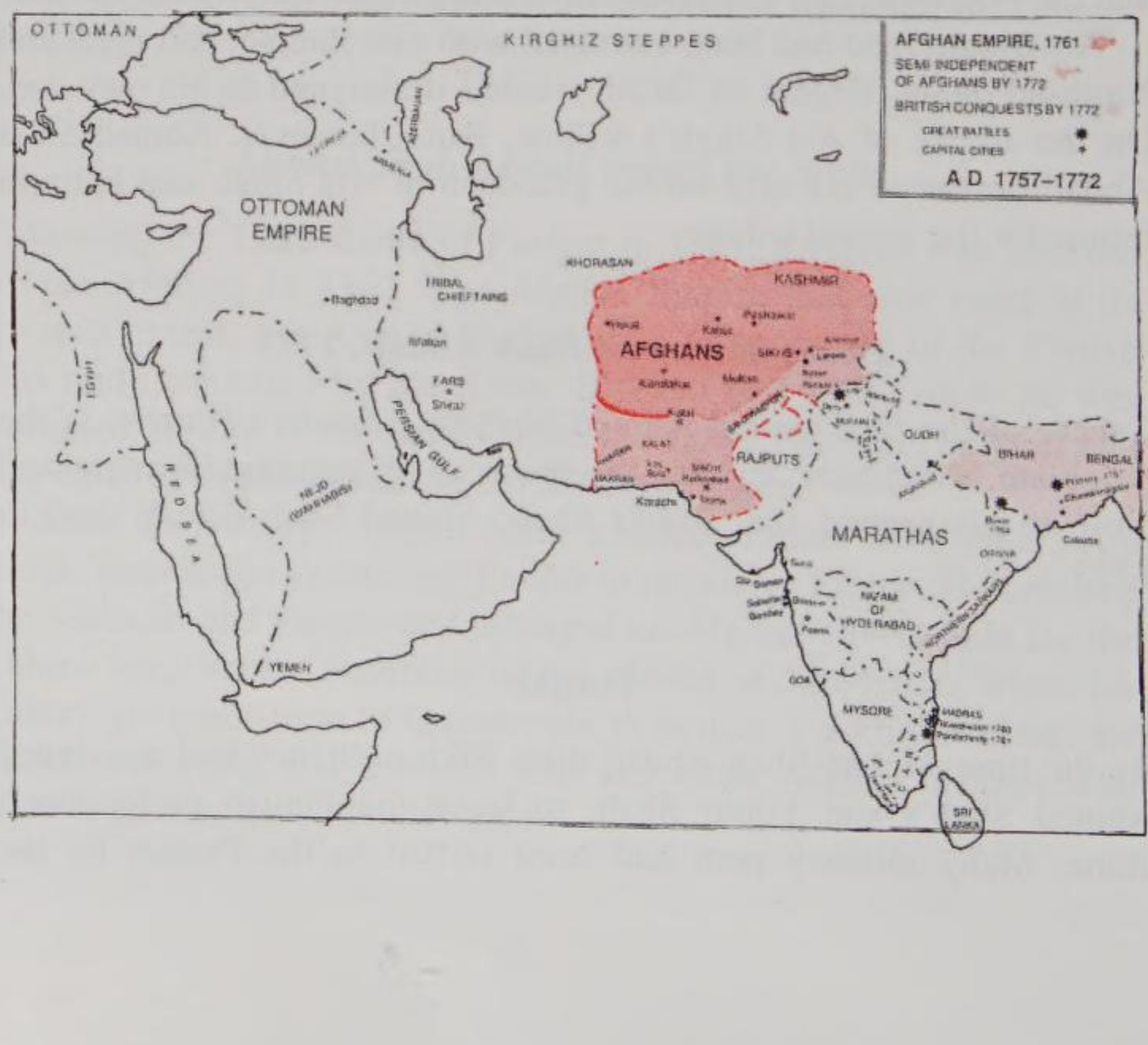
Punjab

By the time Ahmed Shah Abdali died, Sikh militancy had convinced Ahmed Shah's son Timur Shah, to leave the Punjab pretty much alone. Many military men had been settled in the Punjab by the

invaders, and they now became part of Punjabi life as local *zamindars*, or landlords. The three Sikh chiefs were allowed to continue their rule of Lahore and the relative peace meant a partial return to prosperity. Much of the new trade and manufacture was now taking place in Amritsar rather than in Lahore however, because it was there that the Sikh *misaldars* built their city houses to reside in during national deliberations or *Gurumatas*.

The Afghans had also not yet realized that they had made an irrevocable decision to centre their kingdom in Afghanistan, thus giving up all but sporadic, fleeting ambitions to rule either northern India or Persia. Their hold over the Punjab was increasingly tenuous, but it was not yet evident that the Sikhs would be the next rulers of the Punjab: only a small minority of Punjabis were Sikh, while an equal number were Muslim.

As Afghan power receded west to the Margalla Pass, Central Punjab did not automatically fall into the hands of the Sikhs. Various leaders and groups had to be defeated. Rawalpindi, for instance, was taken from the Gakhars, a tribal group which had maintained its identity since around AD 1000 when they had attacked Mahmud of



Ghazni's invading army. The Gakhar chieftains of the Potwar Plateau in Central Punjab, who had played an active part in the foundation of the Mughal Empire two hundred years earlier (before the first Battle of Panipat in 1526) were now losing ground to the Sikhs. Rawalpindi was still an unimportant town at that time, in spite of its location not far from where the old Shahi Highway went through the Margalla Pass. Shortly after 1765, the Sikh Sardar, Milka Singh, made his headquarters there. He took neighbouring agricultural lands for himself and had some new houses and fortifications built in the town.

It should also be remembered that the demise of Mughal authority and the transitoriness of Afghan authority over the Punjab did not always lead to Sikh rule. It led instead to the rise of many local principalities—some were Sikh-ruled, but many were in Muslim hands and offered stout resistance to the Sikhs. Rasul Nagar, Kasur, and Multan are some examples. Kasur, south of Lahore, became an important political and cultural centre in the eighteenth century under the Khushgi Afghans. The famous Punjabi poets Bulleh Shah (1680-1758) and Sufi Inayat Shah flourished there. In fact the area which is now the Pakistani province of Punjab was generally under Muslim dominion until the end of the century, Gujranwala and Lahore being important exceptions.

Waris Shah (1730–90), who put the centuries-old well-loved legend of Heer and Ranjha into verse around 1766, is the voice of this Muslim feudal post-Mughal Punjab. Heer was from Jhang. The customs, ceremonies, castes, classes and sects of eighteenth century Punjabi village life are lovingly and lyrically described in this epic poem.

Sindh and Balochistan

Ghulam Shah Kalhora, one of Sindh's greatest rulers, ruled Sindh from 1757 until his death around 1772. Sindh was more or less free of the Afghan's after 1758. Ghulam Shah extended the Kalhora domain south to the sea. Karachi was obtained peacefully in an exchange of territory with the Khan of Kalat.

Sindh's port was still Shah Bunder, but soon after this, the Indus River changed its course, probably as a result of earthquakes. The Indus Delta became almost unnavigable except by flat-bottomed fishing boats, and water no longer flowed in the Kolri branch of the Indus, north of Thatta.

This would eventually mean the end of Thatta as a major trade centre. The Kalhora capital of Thatta continued to decline following the final extinction of the Kolri branch of the Indus north of the city (1768–74). Around 1769, Ghulam Shah founded the new capital city of Hyderabad. Ghulam Shah Kalhora is remembered for his interest in irrigation, and in Persian and Sindhi literature. In 1772, the death of the Kalhora ruler signalled a traditional battle over succession. The victorious son, Sarfaraz Khan, was not the same sort of statesman and he lost the support of his Baloch nobility. This was a period of bitter civil war between the Kalhoras and the Balochi Talpurs as well as of resistance to Afghan rule.

With the switch of Timur Shah's capital from Kandahar to Kabul in 1773, it was not surprising that the chiefs of Balochistan, especially the Khan of Kalat, should once again become semi-independent. During this time, most of the present-day Pakistan area was spared much of the drama it had witnessed in the previous quarter-century. Only Sindh continued to suffer from repeated invasions and from the continuing drain of a militarily enforced revenue demand by the Afghans. By 1775, the constant warfare had made life so insecure and business so unprofitable, that the British decided to withdraw their merchants from Sindh. In 1779, the Sindhis revolted against Afghan rule, and the Afghans invaded Sindh to enforce revenue collection.

After ten years of bitter struggle, the Talpurs defeated the Kalhoras at the decisive Battle of Halani in 1782, and received a *firman* from the Afghan emperor to rule most of Sindh in 1783. The Talpurs refused to pay tribute to the Afghans after 1788, although it would be another twenty years before the Afghans would give up trying to collect the revenue by force. So while Bengal was being drained of its wealth by the British, Sindh was being drained by the Afghans. But while the English used their ill-gotten gains to create a new economic age, the Afghan Empire continued to decline in internecine struggle.

CONCLUSION: 1761–73

The death of Ahmed Shah Abdali marked the end of Afghan dreams of an Empire to succeed either the Mughals or the Persians. Ahmed Shah had been an amazing personality—a leader of men who could weld his tribal confederacy into an imperial force. He was a poet and

a patriot whose verses in Persian and Pushto still rouse national feeling on both sides of Pakistan's northwest border.

Ahmed Shah had done his best to weld the Afghan tribes into a nation, but he had been a master of working with tribal structure as he found it. He dealt with tribal chiefs as the first among equals. Major policy decisions were made by a council of nine Sardars, even when this meant returning from Delhi to Kabul after attaining supremacy in the northern Subcontinent.

The two decades between 1748 and 1768 saw eight major campaigns by Ahmed Shah Abdali into the Pakistan area. During two of these he also attacked Delhi. Since the Afghans were, in the end, unable to establish themselves in the Subcontinent, we tend to call all of these campaigns 'invasions', and to think of Ahmed Shah Abdali as simply an invader.

Ahmed Shah's Empire might have had more of a future if the Ottoman Empire on its west had not started to decline. But there were now disturbances in Georgia, Armenia, Egypt, Baghdad and along the borders of the Red Sea. This meant that long-distance trade with Central Asia was limited. As long as the Afghan Empire was expanding, however, the cities of Balochistan and the Frontier prospered and attracted artisans and shopkeepers from the Subcontinent and from Central Asia.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century (1775–1800), the major groups in the northern subcontinent would play out the roles they had developed in the previous quarter-century. British and Sikh power would continue to grow, and Afghan power would begin to shrink. Between the wane of the Afghan Empire, and the spread of the British and Sikh Empires, various local principalities established themselves in the Pakistan area.

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The British Establish Themselves in the Subcontinent, Interregnum in Pakistan Area, 1772-1800

At the beginning of this period, the London Directors of the English East India Company, and the British Parliament were trying to puzzle out just what it was that had happened so rapidly and dramatically in Bengal, and what should be done about it. The British conquest of Bengal was seen as important enough to merit government attention, but it was not at all clear yet that England would be a major, much less the major land power in the subcontinent. The English East India Company came under British government supervision with the passage, by the London Parliament, of the Regulating Act of 1773.

This marked an important step in the evolution of the British presence in the Subcontinent. From a trading company it was fast becoming an imperialist, colonizing power. The death of Robert Clive in the following year, symbolized the extinction of the old freebooting pirate-merchants. Clive had seen himself as a merchant-conqueror who used military force to secure high profits for himself, his friends, and if possible, for his Company in that order of priority.

Warren Hastings, 1772–85

Like Clive, Warren Hastings had first arrived in the subcontinent as a teenaged employee of the English East India Company. But unlike Clive, Hastings was expected by the British government to be a responsible local ruler, as well as a trade representative for the Company. Hastings saw himself as a successor to the previous rulers of the north-eastern subcontinent. He was a scholarly man and took his job seriously. He mastered Persian (the language of official documents and diplomacy at that time in Bengal), learned Urdu, and knew some Arabic as well.

As a local ruler, however, his allegiance was not to the Mughal emperor, who in any case had left the area to return to Delhi under the protection of the Marathas, but to the British. Therefore, the Company ceased paying tribute to the Mughal emperor, and cut in half the tributes paid to the nawabs of the region.

The various Mughal and British regimes all experimented with different systems of taxation, particularly systems of agricultural taxation, or land revenue collection. In terms of economics, it is impossible to compare the Mughals and the British, because a major portion of the revenue and profits acquired by the British was shipped thousands of miles away. The Mughals, however wasteful they might seem, did spend their incomes almost entirely within their empire.

Until the Battle of Plassey, the Company's profits had come from buying goods at low prices (often at the point of a gun), and selling them at higher prices, whether elsewhere in Asia (i.e., opium in China), or back in Europe. During the years of loot and ruin in Bengal, most of the spoils went directly into private hands (and back to England where they helped finance the Industrial Revolution), and the share which went to the Company was used up in trying to drive away the other European trading companies, and in defending the newly acquired territories from Shah Alam, Mir Qasim, etc.

Now that the crafts and commerce of Bengal had been ruined, the profits of the Company came mainly from agricultural revenue. Although the famine of 1770 had depopulated the countryside, and left one-third of the area a wilderness, the land was still fertile and there was a gradual return of acreage to cultivation.

Hastings cut the local nobility's share in the revenue by one-half, and he tried to find out about the traditional ways of taxing agriculture—for the purpose of sending greater profits back to England. As a temporary measure, Hastings put the positions of revenue collectors up for auction, thus emulating the very worst of the many systems in practise throughout the subcontinent. Under this system, large sums were paid for the privilege of taxing the peasants' crops from 1872 to 1877, so of course the peasants were then forced to pay ridiculously high taxes.

Oudh

Oudh continued to be a buffer between the Company in Bengal and Bihar, and the confusion in Delhi, but now the Nawab of Oudh was

expected to pay for the upkeep of British forces. The Company became involved in Oudh's long-standing struggle with the Rohilla Afghans, and with Company aid, Rohilkhand was conquered by Oudh in 1774. This warfare alarmed the Directors in London, who were afraid of a return to the old adventurism, but it made sense to Hastings who saw this as increasing Oudh's usefulness as a buffer against the Marathas, who were the most dangerous threat to the survival of the British presence in the subcontinent.

Not long after the defeat of Rohilkhand, Shuja-ud-daula died and was succeeded by his son Asaf-ud-daula in 1775. The British now demanded a higher payment by the Oudh government for the upkeep of Company troops, and also forced Asaf-ud-daula to give up the rich area around Benares and Ghazipur to the Company.

As we have noted before, the widows of powerful men often remained wealthy and powerful after their husbands' deaths. This was true in Oudh. The new Nawab's mother (widow of Shuja-ud-daula) and grandmother (widow of Safdar Jang), were very forceful women whose influence over the affairs of state was considerable. They were known as the Begums of Oudh. A desire for independence from them was one of the reasons why Asaf-ud-daula decided to move his capital away from the Begums' home in Faizabad. His greatest distinction is as founder of Lucknow, the new capital of Oudh, which soon became a centre of Muslim culture.

Some of Asaf-ud-daula's great building projects in Lucknow were undertaken to provide employment during the famine of 1784. Between his lavish spending on charities, monuments and cultural events, and the Company's constant demands upon him for funds to carry on their wars against Haider Ali and the Marathas, Asaf-ud-daula's treasury was soon empty.

The Marathas

Since their massive and demoralizing defeat by the Afghans in 1761, and the death of the Peshwa soon after, (his heir had been killed in the battle), the Marathas could not manage either to weld themselves into one united empire or remain content with being five prosperous states. Their ongoing struggles for dominance and independence continued to prevent them from reaching their true potential and crippled their resistance to the various foreign imperialisms.

One exception to this was the Maratha queen of Indore, who ruled serenely from 1761 to 1795. Among the other Maratha leaders, Sindia just managed to gain dominance at the time of his death in 1794.

First Maratha War, 1775-82

While Britain was becoming a land power in eastern India, the English trading posts on the west coast of the subcontinent, including the one at Thatta in Sindh, remained basically commercial enterprises. The most important of these was the one at Bombay. It flourished quietly until 1775 when its management decided to interfere in Maratha politics in the hope of obtaining a neighbouring island (Salsette) and another port (Bassein, 28 miles from Bombay).

At this time there was disunity among both the British and the Marathas. Neither Bombay nor Madras were yet co-operating with Hastings, the Governor-General, and Hastings' own Council was hostile to him. The Marathas were struggling over who should be the next Peshwa.

Hastings sent two daring expeditionary forces across hundreds of miles of unknown territory to rescue the British from disaster at Bombay. The 1782 treaty between the Marathas and the English generally restored the original state of affairs, but the Marathas had acquired a respect for British military ability which resulted in a twenty-year stand-off between these two great powers.

Orientalists

An important disagreement between Hastings and the politicians in London was over an appropriate legal system for the conquered territories. Hastings, in spite of his high-handed actions, did have respect for both the Hindu and the Muslim cultures. Muslim law of the mid-18th century was more modern, humane and enlightened than was English law of the time. The English were horrified at the Muslim provision for amputation of a thief's hand, but in English law, more than one hundred and fifty different offenses were punishable by death, while Muslim courts very seldom awarded the death penalty.

Over Hastings' protests, the English government created a Supreme Court for the Company's territories, and after 1773, all Englishmen in the subcontinent were subject to British rather than local law. This

was the beginning of a great debate which continues till today—how much should the customs and practices of the Subcontinent affect the Europeans, and how much should Western ideas and practices affect the people of the subcontinent?

Unfortunately, the Orientalists, who wanted to respect Muslim or Hindu (as well as Christian) ways of doing things, tended to think that there was one unchanging Muslim tradition and one unchanging Hindu tradition which could be discovered through scholarship, and then preserved. Ordinarily, of course, traditions evolve and change through interactions with each other and with changing circumstances. So the Western Orientalists, or defenders of non-Western traditions, sometimes became a force for the stagnation, stultification and rigidity of these traditions, and for a growing divergence rather than convergence between the Muslim and Hindu and Christian ways of life.

Warren Hastings must be credited with his founding of the Calcutta Madrasah, or Arabic College in 1781, and for encouraging Sir William Jones to found the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, and William Wilkins to devise typefaces for Urdu, Hindi and Bengali.

Delhi under the Marathas, 1785

The death of Shah Alam's Prime Minister coincided with a terrible famine in 1782. The Mughal emperor's rule was fatally weakened by these two events and the Maratha chief Mahadji Sindia was invited to Delhi in 1785 and made Regent. While Sindia was occupied in battling the Rajputs, the grandson of the old Rohilla Regent Najib came to plunder the palace. In frustration at not finding any treasure, he blinded Shah Alam in 1788.

Sindia returned to Delhi and reinstated the emperor the following year. The Marathas now became the emperor's avenger and sole protector until the coming of the British in 1803. After this, the Mughal emperor lived on, respected and pitied, but the Delhi kingdom had become just another Maratha province.

The Second Mysore War, 1780-4

The First Maratha War merged with the Second Mysore War. England and France (which was now allied with the rebellious American colonies) were at war again between 1778 and 1783. When the English

started attacking French settlements on the Carnatic coast, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Marathas, and Haider Ali of Mysore formed a confederacy to drive the English out of peninsular India.

Unfortunately, both the Nizam and the Marathas dropped out of the confederacy, but Haider Ali inflicted serious defeats on the British before his death in 1782. His son, Tipu Sultan, bravely carried on the battle even after the French had made peace with the English again (at Versailles in 1783).

Like the First Mysore War, the Second Mysore War ended in a draw. This was in 1784. The Company's shareholders in England and the British government were so alarmed by these very expensive near disasters, that they passed the Regulating Act of 1784, which forbade the Company to indulge in any more aggressive and expansionist warfare. Although Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, had so far failed in throwing the British out of India, they had, nevertheless won a brief respite for the people of the subcontinent.

Throughout the colonial period, there was often disagreement between the policy makers in London and the men in command in the subcontinent on the advisability of armed conflict. Those at home in England tended to preach caution, while those at the scene often felt the necessity of a show of force. Since the new Regulating Act was basically a rejection of his policies, Hastings decided to retire.

Later, he had to face impeachment proceedings in London. Like Clive, he was accused of military adventurism (against the Rohilla Afghans, the Marathas and Mysore), and financial extortion (from the Raja of Benares and the Begums of Oudh). In Hastings' case, it was acknowledged that the illegal extortions were not for private enrichment but to finance the Company's warfare when the American Revolution and the war with France left Hastings without help from England.

Cornwallis, (1786-93) (& 1805)

Cornwallis, like Clive and Hastings, was sent out to the subcontinent to put things in order. He, however, was the first to actually manage to do this. Clive had suggested that if the Company's employees were to be prevented from earning illegal income (through bribes, extortion and private trade), their salaries would have to be raised. The Company had refused to do this before the arrival of Cornwallis.

Cornwallis also argued that a better quality of Englishman could

be attracted to the Company if salaries were higher. Now the Company agreed to pay higher salaries—but only to Englishmen. So all of the higher positions would be barred to people from the subcontinent. Former rulers and administrators found themselves idle while their former subordinates in the courts of law, the army and the police were now the employees of Englishmen. Naturally this caused resentment among the people of the subcontinent.

It was also a major cause of racism among the English. Before Cornwallis, traditional diplomatic etiquette was observed in relations with the ruling classes of the subcontinent. The ability to speak and read Persian was considered a social grace. There was considerable socializing between the European and subcontinental elites. The British and Mughal ruling classes had much in common. Both loved trade, hunting and other outdoor sports, feasts and grand ceremonies. (One major difference between the Mughal and English elites was the English custom of primogeniture: inheritance of the family estate by the eldest son. Islamic inheritance law did not allow this. The practical outcome was endless succession struggles among the Mughals, while the English aristocracy sent the younger brothers out to the 'Indies' to seek their fortunes.)

Social gatherings which included Muslims, Hindus and Europeans generally looked very male-dominated. As we have seen, women were often very powerful in the subcontinent at this time, but they usually exercised their power behind the scenes. There were as yet very few European women in the subcontinent, and aristocratic families of Bengal seldom gave their daughters in marriage to Europeans. Thus, while European men at first interacted with the local men of all classes, they generally met women only from less prestigious backgrounds.

Now, under Cornwallis, diplomacy was abandoned, and the old ruling groups were left in isolation. This meant that Englishmen would from now on interact often with native servants, clerks, salesmen and occasionally merchants and bankers, but very rarely with local people of their own status. The British, who had arrived quite humbly two hundred years earlier, had started to feel racially superior by the end of the 18th century. Having ruined the areas under their control, they could now look down upon them.

Just as Hastings was different from Clive, Cornwallis was different from Hastings. Cornwallis was a British aristocrat who arrived in 1793 completely inexperienced, totally ignorant and absolutely

uninterested in the subcontinent. He assumed that the people of the Subcontinent were universally corrupt and that the Europeans became corrupted by imitating the ways of the local rulers.

Culturally, Hastings has been compared to Akbar with his intellectual curiosity. Cornwallis has been described as a western Aurangzeb. Just as Aurangzeb tried to bring order into the confused affairs of state by relying on Muslim rather than Hindu officers, Cornwallis insisted that Englishmen should hold the top positions.

Aurangzeb and Cornwallis appeared, however, at very different moments of history. Although Muslims were at first foreign to the Indian subcontinent, Islam and Muslim rule had been interacting with the subcontinent for a thousand years by Aurangzeb's death. Cornwallis, on the other hand, represented a very strange, very tiny minority from much further away than Persia or Afghanistan.

The Third Mysore War, 1790-2

Cornwallis agreed, in return for some territory, to provide the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan with troops for war against Tipu Sultan. Therefore, at the end of 1789, Tipu Sultan attacked Travancore which was an ally of the Company. By the end of 1790, Tipu was doing so well against the British troops that Cornwallis had to take command himself.

By March 1792, the British were strong enough to demand one-half of Tipu's territories, the return of their prisoners of war, a payment of damages and two of Tipu's sons as hostages. The territories taken from Tipu were distributed among the Company, the Marathas, and the Nizam who had all joined in the effort to break Tipu's power.

Permanent Settlement, 1793

Cornwallis's major accomplishment outside of his restructuring of the Company's employment and salary policies in his successful effort to cut down on corruption, was the Permanent Settlement of land taxes. He set a permanent level of agricultural taxation for the lands of Bengal. He hoped that if taxes were not being raised all the time, it would encourage more production, and the farming of more land, since the increase would benefit either the peasant and/or the landlord, rather than the state.

This was one of the many well-intentioned efforts of the British to intervene on behalf of the peasants, whom they now realized must be protected from over-exploitation so that they could continue to produce for themselves, the local aristocracy and the British. However most of their reforms backfired, since they were introducing laws based on the assumption of private ownership of land, without challenging the power or wealth of the local elites. The reforms, were in fact, used by those with access to money, to the detriment of the poor, often indebted peasants.

This first Permanent Settlement was taken advantage of by wealthy (often Hindu) families who were recognized as the owners of a piece of land if they agreed to be responsible for the taxes. Bengal continued to be an area of extremely impoverished (mostly Muslim) peasants, while the class of (mostly Hindu) absentee landlords grew in numbers, wealth and power. Naturally, in the long run, this situation would breed bitterness between the members of the two religions.

Timur Shah and Shah Zaman

The forty-five years following the death of Ahmed Shah Abdali saw the steady decline of the Afghan Empire. Ahmed Shah's successors proved incapable of overcoming tribal disunity, or evolving any proper governmental structures. The Afghan Empire gradually shrank back to the borders of present-day Afghanistan. With the transfer of the Afghan capital from Kandahar to Kabul, the Frontier, and particularly the Peshawar area, became an even more central part of the Afghan state.

The continual internecine struggles within the Afghan royal family would eventually engulf Peshawar, resulting in the alienation of some of the more important tribes and chiefs of the area. Because Ahmed Shah Abdali's descendants did not have the tact to treat their tribal chiefs with respect, they slowly lost the respect of the tribes.

Timur Shah had been raised in Persian Meshed and was more Persian than Afghan. (He had two Yusufzai wives and one Mughal wife from Lahore.) In 1791 Timur Shah escaped an attempt on his life in Peshawar. Then he further alienated the Mohmands and other border tribes when he had the chief of the Mohmands killed for taking part in the conspiracy. Timur Shah's second great mistake was his failure to nominate an heir. This led to endless quarrels over the succession.

At Timur Shah's death, in 1793, the Afghan Empire still included almost all of present-day Afghanistan plus Kashmir, the Peshawar area and the Multan area. Although Afghan sovereignty extended to Sirhind in northern India, and Lahore was the official eastern capital, the Afghans did not really have much control east of the Indus. The Sikhs of the Punjab, including the Sikh rulers of Lahore and Rawalpindi, were still subordinate to Afghan influence and Sindh was officially dependent, but the Talpurs had paid no tribute for five years. Afghan suzerainty was acknowledged by Kalat, the rest of Balochistan and Persian Khorasan.

Zaman Shah, the fifth son of Timur, ruled from 1793 to 1800 amidst constant internecine warfare. In the first year of his reign, he marched against the Talpur ruler of Sindh, Mir Fath Khan, who had not sent any tribute for five years. Zaman Shah had to quickly settle with the Mir and turn back to deal with his elder brother Mahmud.

The Sikhs hoped that they could now throw off Afghan domination, but were instead subjected to another three invasions. Zaman Shah crossed the Indus in 1795. He destroyed the Sikh shrine at Hasan Abdal and the mud fort at Gujranwala. He sent a party to receive the nominal Sikh surrender of Rohtas, but had to return to Kabul to deal with his rebellious brother Mahmud. Shah Zaman arrived in 1797 and again in 1798 at Lahore with a huge cavalry force of around 33,000 men, aided by the Khweshgi Chief of Kasur (because he didn't expect the Afghan ruler to remain east of the Indus). The Sikh chiefs fled. Shah Zaman came prepared to negotiate, but the religious leaders of both the Muslim Afghans and the Sikhs objected.

Tipu Sultan

Shah Zaman's occupation of the Punjab awakened hopes and fears even beyond the reaches of the subcontinent. Since his partial defeat in 1792, Tipu Sultan had been trying to rally all possible anti-British forces to help him rid the subcontinent of this invader. He had expressed his solidarity with the democratic aspects of the French Revolution by entitling himself Citizen Tipu—he and his father were, after all, ruling in place of a decadent monarchy, such as had been overthrown in France. He planted a 'freedom tree' in his capital city of Seringapatm.

Tipu Sultan was in contact with the French base on the island of Mauritius, and had sent messages requesting aid against the British to

the Arabs and to the Ottoman Turks. Having begun a correspondence with Shah Zaman through his agents in Delhi, Tipu sent two ambassadors to Kabul early in 1796. On their way from Mysore to Afghanistan, they stopped in Kutch, where Tipu, always a good businessman, had a trading post. They then proceeded to Karachi, where they were to open another trading post, and they negotiated a safe passage through Balochistan to Shah Zaman's court. Once in Kabul, they delivered their letters, a personal message and many presents to the Afghan ruler.

Just as Shah Walliullah had written to the Afghan Ahmed Shah Abdali, proposing a Muslim alliance against the Hindu Marathas, Tipu Sultan now wrote to Ahmed Shah Abdali's grandson. This time, however, the alliance would be against the British as well as against the Marathas, and Tipu Sultan hoped that it would have the backing of the French, who were once more at war with England. Tipu suggested that Shah Zaman spend a year securing Delhi, and replace the elderly, blind emperor with some more suitable member of the Mughal family. He promised that if Shah Zaman then marched south against the Marathas, he, Tipu, would march up from the south. Together they would totally destroy British and Maratha power.

The ambassadors returned to Mysore with presents, letters and promises of friendship. Therefore, when Shah Zaman occupied Lahore in 1797, the Rohillas, who had been pivotal in the original Muslim alliance with the Afghans, began to prepare enthusiastically and the Marathas expressed their concern to the British. The preparations also alarmed the Rohilla's old enemy, the Nawab of Oudh, who also expressed his concern to the British. In England, where Tipu Sultan had become a legendary 'villain' for his (and his father's) unswerving opposition to British imperialism, the people were probably more alarmed than was the governor-general of the moment.

Sir John Shore (1793-8) took his original instructions to avoid adventurism at all costs, very seriously. Nevertheless, he did put some of his troops on alert. Shah Zaman, however, found it necessary once more to return to Afghanistan to confront his brother Mahmud's efforts to claim the throne. Shah Zaman withdrew temporarily from Lahore after collecting thirty lakh rupees from the few wealthy residents who still lived there. The Sikh chiefs returned to their various headquarters.

It was the end of the 18th century before the British first paid political attention to the Pakistan area, and even then, it was only out

of concern about events beyond the borders of present-day Pakistan, in Afghanistan. By Shah Zaman's next invasion, however, in 1798, the alarmist mood in England had made itself felt in the subcontinent in the person of a new Governor-General.

In France, meanwhile, the young General Napoleon Bonaparte had already begun amazing the world, impressing his fellow Frenchmen and worrying his superiors. When the French government wanted Napoleon to launch a direct attack on England, he suggested, instead, an expedition to the Middle East, in order to control the trade of the East and cut off England from her Indian possessions. After a triumphant march up and down the Nile River of Egypt, Napoleon headed north along the Mediterranean coast to the Syrian port of Acre. He was marching to meet the Ottoman Turks who were coming south to reclaim Egypt from him. But he was also dreaming of turning eastwards and, in imitation of Alexander the Great, marching to India.

Wellesley

The new British Governor-General, arriving in the subcontinent with instructions to defend British possessions from both the French and Tipu Sultan, first set about distracting Tipu's new ally Shah Zaman. A Persian traveller was sent to incite the Persian ruler against Shah Zaman. (We do not know if this had any importance, since Persia was already backing Zaman's elder brother Mahmud's claim to the throne.)

The British also sent a mission to Sindh to reopen their trading post there which had been closed due to the Talpur-Kalhora civil war twenty-four years earlier. But their real purposes were to keep an eye on the possible movements of Shah Zaman and to make an informal alliance with the Sindh government.

The British were afraid that Shah Zaman might decide to march through Sindh on his way to help Tipu Sultan defeat the Marathas and themselves. They were willing to supply the Sindhis with arms and ammunition to resist the Afghans, but were not yet ready to commit troops or large amounts of money in so remote a quarter. The British found the Sindhi rulers distrustful of both the Afghans and the British.

Although the British mission came mainly for political purposes, they were impressed with the business opportunities the port of Karachi and the Indus River offered. They reported that Karachi, once a small fishing hamlet, was now 'a place of immense

trade,...through which all the merchandise for Kabul and Kandahar finds vent.' But the local merchants were not so welcoming.

Since the first Portuguese traders had arrived 250 years earlier, the merchants of this area had been known for their stubborn independence and unwillingness to cooperate with the West Europeans. In this way, they were very unlike the merchants of Bengal. Perhaps there was rarely enough merchandise to supply all the far-reaching trade links already established, so that the local merchants saw newcomers as unwelcome competitors for scarce merchandise, rather than as providers of new markets, as they were seen in the once-prosperous Bengal.

The local merchants snubbed the English socially, declined to purchase their cargo and petitioned the Amir against their return. But after he had inspected his presents, the Sindhi ruler agreed to see the English mission. They were then received formally amongst much grandeur. Mir Fath Ali Khan, the Talpur ruler of Sindh, wanted the English to bring sugar candy, black pepper, Chinaware, English steel and different kinds of cloth, and offered the English their old trading post, house and garden and the old reduced rate of duties.

By this time, Thatta had become both impractical and unpopular for the merchants of all nationalities. The river near Thatta was now unnavigable, making it an impractical location for a trading post, and the Sindhi rulers were strict in collecting customs and duties, not only in Thatta, but along the trade routes through their territories.

Besides being more accessible to the sea, Karachi was less firmly under government control. It had passed back and forth between Kalat, the Kalhoras and the Talpurs and the trade routes from Karachi to Afghanistan ran through Balochi rather than Sindhi territory. Therefore, the British preferred to trade at Karachi, while the Talpur government preferred them to stay at Thatta. The local merchants did not want them around at all. Thus the British in Sindh were in a very different situation in 1799 than they had been in Bengal ever since Farukhsiyar's *firman* was interpreted to grant them duty-free trade up the rivers, and Bengali merchants set about procuring merchandise for them.

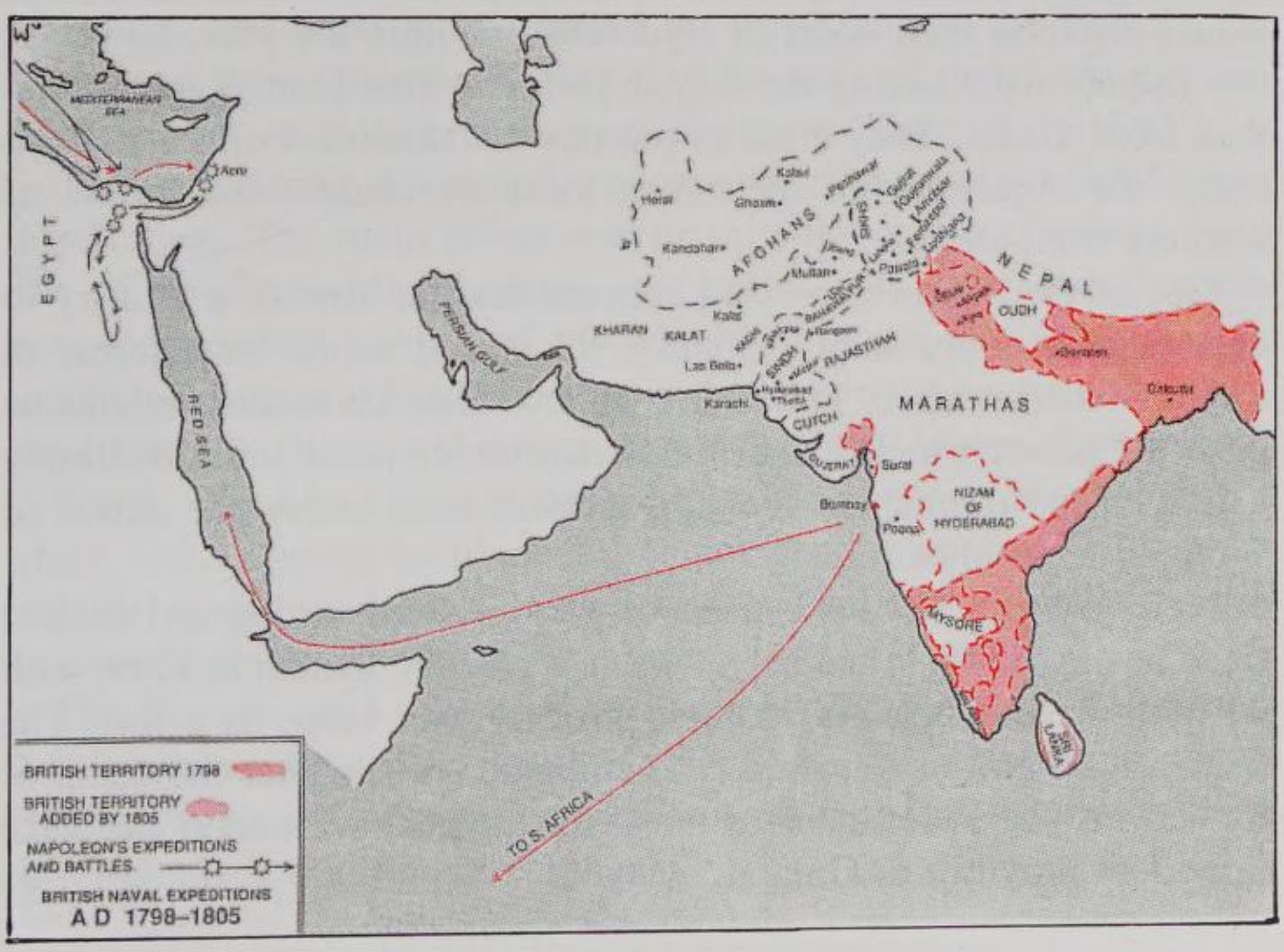
In May 1799 Napoleon was beaten by a combination of the British and the Ottoman Turks at Acre, on the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The threat of France as an Asian land force seemed to have been nipped in the bud. May 1799 also saw the arrival of the British mission to Sindh and the final British onslaught

on Tipu Sultan. The British stationed a fleet along the Malabar Coast to intercept any French naval assistance and attacked Tipu Sultan in his fortress of Seringapatam.

On 4 May 1799, Tipu Sultan died fighting heroically. It is said that when the news of Tipu's death was brought to the British Commander, he cried out, 'Today, India is ours!' Richard Colly, Earl of Mornington, was made the Marquess Wellesley as a reward for defeating this major barrier to British ambitions. Tipu Sultan, alongwith his father, Haider Ali, Mir Qasim and Siraj-ud-daula of Bengal and the emperor Aurangzeb, is remembered as a Muslim ruler who bravely resisted British conquest.

The British were now the paramount power in peninsular and eastern India. They were beginning to take both a commercial and a political interest in the area which is now Pakistan, but they did not yet have any influence, much less power in the region. Napoleon's reverses in the Middle East did not hinder his advance to greater and greater power in Europe, nor did they extinguish his dreams of conquering the subcontinent. But the days of Afghan power were now numbered.

Balochistan was under the nominal sway of Kandahar, capital of the southern third of Afghanistan. (The western third of Afghanistan, ruled from Herat, would have more to do with Russia and Persia.)



After the death of its greatest ruler, Naseer Khan Baloch, in 1795, the Khanate of Kalat was past its peak. Kachhi, Las Bela, Kharan and Jhalawan were in intermittent rebellion from Kalat. But people of Baloch descent were ruling many parts of what is now southern Pakistan. The Daudpotas who had been driven out of Sindh by the Kalhoras and given a *jagir* in the Multan province had established their separate state of Bahawalpur between 1772 and 1805. They ruled Bahawalpur (now in the Punjab) from Uch.

Talpur rule was secure in Sindh, and the Talpurs had captured Karachi. There were three main branches of Talpurs; the Mirpur or Manikani family at Mirpur, the Sohrabanis at Khairpur, and most important, the Shahdadpur family ruling Central Sindh from Hyderabad. Mir Fath Ali Khan had established himself as Rais, or ruler of Central Sindh.

The Talpurs came from barren Balochistan, where agriculture played a small part in the economic life of the region, while the Baloch prided themselves on hunting and warfare. The Amirs ruled Sindh during a time of frequent earthquake activity. The courses of the Indus and its tributaries kept changing. Therefore, given the risk involved in, and the low prestige of agricultural efforts, the Amirs put more emphasis on trade as a source of revenue.

The Amirs welcomed the British merchants back to Sindh in 1799 in the hope that trade would be stimulated and that interesting objects would arrive at their court in Hyderabad. Within the year, however, the Talpurs were asking the British to leave, first from Karachi, and then from Thatta. They cited as reasons the smallness of the English trade, the objections of their own local merchants, and letters of warning from abroad.

One of the nobles expressed concern that the British would try to encourage disunity among Sindh's rulers and would be a threat to Sindh's independence. The Amirs were well aware of the tremendous push for power which the British Governor-General Lord Wellesley had launched throughout the subcontinent even before the defeat of Tipu Sultan at Mysore.

Neighbouring Surat was a major port city with strong and ancient trade ties to Sindh. It had been taken over by the British in 1799, with no more excuse than its strategic location and value as a fort. The British took advantage of an (anti-Maratha) revolt after the death of its Nawab, the descendant of the last Mughal governor of the once important province of Gujarat.

The aging Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan, who had been forced to sign a subsidiary treaty with the British in 1798, now lost even more authority in the Treaty of 1800. The Nawab of Oudh, the successor of a long line of Prime Ministers of the Mughal Empire, was being forced, much against his will, to cede half of his territory to the British.

Wellesley, who had taken over the administration of the Carnatic during the last Mysore War (as per a 1792 treaty), chose to retain its administration in British hands—this situation would be regularized after the death of the Nawab in 1801.

CONCLUSION 1761-1800

The Success of the British

The Talpur Amirs of Sindh had every reason to be suspicious of British intentions and to take precautionary measures to preserve their independence. They were afraid that the decline of Afghan power would not leave Sindh free for long from the threat of foreign interference and eventual domination.

Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan of Mysore realized that only an international effort could drive the English from the subcontinent. Haider Ali tried to unite the Marathas and Hyderabad with himself in his effort, and Tipu Sultan called on the Afghans, the French, the Arabs and even Ottoman Turkey, but because of their own circumstances, none of these powers were able or willing to help him.

The area during this period was experiencing the effects of Afghan imperialism. The main effect was to shift the centre of power from east of the present-day Pakistan area to the west. From being on the semi-independent fringes of the Mughal Empire, the Frontier area and Balochistan and Kashmir were now close to the centre and deeply involved in the trade and power struggles of the Afghan Empire.

Sindh, which had been at that middle distance from Mughal power which left it prone to plunder but not central enough to reap its rewards, now found itself at the same uncomfortable distance from the even more ravaging Afghan power.

The Punjab, mid-way and on a direct line between Kabul and Delhi, was as always in the thick of things. The campaigns of the Mughals against the Sikhs were taken over with enthusiasm by their co-religionists, the Muslim Afghans.

The Sikhs had to fight much harder for their survival than did the Marathas, but they had an inherently more prosperous homeland and a new and vital religion to inspire them. Thus the British would find them a smaller but more compact force to contend with than the Marathas—and equally powerful.

As in Europe, some of the nationalities of the subcontinent were more forward-looking and open to new ideas than were others. Tipu Sultan of Mysore and Ranjit Singh of the Punjab were among the more progressive rulers. Both the Muslim rulers of Mysore and the Sikh rulers of the Punjab were open to adapting foreign innovations. Like the British, Tipu Sultan combined foreign policy and trade initiatives. He also encouraged innovations in production. The Sikh government tried to encourage commerce, but Ranjit Singh was more engrossed in expanding his kingdom into unwilling Muslim-populated regions, and his interest in adapting foreign innovations was centred on military equipment, personnel and techniques.

The British Industrial Revolution, 1770–1815

We have mentioned that merchants and artisans migrated to Kashmir and Bengal to escape the rapacity of the later Mughal ruling class and the destruction of the wars and invasions which accompanied the last days of the Mughal Empire. Silk winding and weaving workshops in Bengal and Gujarat produced beautiful silk thread and fabric. The merchants of Gujarat, however, had shifted their enterprises to Benares to escape the Marathas.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the production of the subcontinent outdid that of Europe in both quantity and quality, and the organization of production was much the same. But in 1733, the flying shuttle was invented in England, and by 1750, English looms were generally superior to those in use in the subcontinent. After 1785, the steam engine came into use in England and was put to work running spinning machines and power looms.

In the subcontinent weavers were still setting up simple looms under trees or in small sheds or in their homes, but their cloth, the product of many generations of experience, was still superior to that of the West. By 1800, however, English cloth was being produced in such great quantities and for such low prices that the competition of these machine-made fabrics was beginning to be felt in the subcontinent. Nevertheless, in 1815, the cloth sent by the subcontinent

to England was worth fifty times more than the cloth imported from England to the subcontinent.

But the age of machine production had come to England, and had begun to change it from an importer of manufactured products to an exporter of mass-produced goods. This would change the whole purpose of the British presence in the subcontinent. Why did this Industrial Revolution happen in England before it happened in the subcontinent, or, indeed, anywhere else in the world?

To organize the mass production of goods, one needs the raw materials, a skilled and disciplined workforce, capitalists who have both the idea of equipping and manning workshops and organizing efficient production systems, and the financial resources to carry out their plans, a market, or a sufficient number of people with the desire and money to buy the product, and a distribution network; this includes transport vehicles and roads, shops, shopkeepers, etc.

Ironically, many of the preconditions necessary for an industrial revolution were present more strongly in the Indian subcontinent than in Europe at the middle of the 18th century. The subcontinent had the natural and human resources, a developed infrastructure (roads, cities, banking), and emerging capitalists who had accumulated capital and were organizing production.

The Europeans first arrived in Asia simply as merchants, wanting to buy Asian products cheaply and then resell them back in Europe at higher prices and great profits. This is called commercial capitalism. Because they had so little capital for their purchases, they soon became involved in the local economy, borrowing and learning from the local businessmen who were organizing production as well as buying and selling.

The weaknesses of the subcontinent were in technology, markets and government-business relations. All of these relative weaknesses had arisen since the time of Akbar. After Akbar, innovations in technology or organization of production were no longer encouraged. The ordinary people, suffering under over-taxation and constant warfare, were much too poor to provide a market and the rulers became jealous of, and predatory upon, the business class.

In the meantime, Europe was experiencing its agricultural revolution which produced both technological innovation and a population prosperous enough to provide a market. In a sense it was the very wealth of the subcontinent which was its undoing: when there was a strong central authority, its armed might was built upon

the over-taxation and impoverishment of the peasant. When the subcontinent split into small feudal and less oppressive kingdoms, it lost its ability to ward off foreign invaders. The subcontinent was experiencing just such a phase of disunity when the Europeans first arrived (before the Mughals). By the next phase of post-Mughal disunity, Europe had become superior not in economic terms, but in technology (mechanical devices, especially weaponry).

Some sections of Europe's population were more prosperous than their counterparts in the Indian subcontinent. And the English merchants were able to manipulate both the English and the Mughal governments to their own advantage —obtaining monopoly privileges while escaping with the lion's share of the loot—which they then invested in England.

Some historians point to the very smallness and poverty of the British Isles which they say encouraged the English to make greater efforts than the residents of more wealthy areas. Others point out that the English were able to finance their Industrial Revolution with the loot from the subcontinent. Although the English East India Company itself seldom made great profits from its overseas investments, the wealth acquired by individuals while employed by the Company was brought back to England, where it was spent or banked or invested. Much of it was used to finance the mechanization of England.

The transformation of the methods of production which took place between 1775 and 1815 in England established its supremacy in the world for more than one hundred years. Other countries copied these innovations and eventually caught up with or even surpassed England. Because of the subcontinent's position as a colony, it was forcibly prevented from doing this. After the Industrial Revolution, the subcontinent continued to be drained, only now as a source of raw materials and a market for inexpensive mass-produced goods.

Why was the rest of the world, including the Muslim world, left behind? In Ottoman Turkey, which was just next door to Europe, educated Muslims were very conscious of the decline of their society and the emergence of the Europeans.

In India, Abu Taleb Khan, a Muslim of Lucknow who travelled to England in 1800 and published a journal of his three year stay there, accused his fellow Muslims of mental laziness. Abu Taleb was

> of the opinion, that many of the customs, inventions, sciences, and ordinances of Europe, the good effects of which are apparent in those countries, might with great advantage be imitated by Mohammedans

> ...but...The great and rich...consider universal science as comprehended in the circle of their own...limited knowledge, while the poor...have not time...for...new discoveries and inventions.

He feared that when Muslims saw that his book contained foreign names and treated unfamiliar subjects, 'they will under pretense of zeal for their religion, entirely abstain and refrain from perusing it.'

Abu Taleb was equally critical of the English. In his eyes, they had three main defects: their lack of faith in religion, their pride or insolence ('Puffed up with their power and good fortune for the last fifty years'), and their passion for acquiring money. He even expressed amazement at the Western notion of progress—'If this axiom of theirs be correct, man has yet much to learn and all his boasted knowledge is but vanity.'

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Regional Independence, 1799-1835

Pakistan Area

For a few more decades, the Frontier area would continue to constitute an important part of the eastern third of the now fractured Afghan Empire. The key figure in Afghan politics for the next 18 years would be Fatteh Khan, the eldest son of one of the Barakzai chiefs eliminated by Shah Zaman in Peshawar in 1799. Fatteh Khan had fled to Herat and instigated Shah Zaman's brother Mahmud to have that ruler blinded in 1800.

As Mahmud's Prime Minister, Fatteh Khan virtually ruled Afghanistan, including the area which now constitutes the Frontier Province, until 1818. With the waning of Afghan power, the Punjab and Sindh were now spared the devastation of the Afghan invasions. Extermination campaigns which had wrecked havoc on their commerce and agriculture, and had decreased their populations, were now on the decline.

Punjab

In the Punjab, the end of Afghan invasions did not bring the beginning of total peace, although it did bring a return of some trade and prosperity. Various local chieftains now sought to establish and expand their powers. By 1800, most of the twelve Sikh *misls* (or divisions of the Sikh military organization, the *Dal Khalsa*) had carved out territories for themselves. Half of these were in the now-Pakistan part of the Punjab.

Most of the Punjab territory west of the present-day India-Pakistan border was still ruled by local Muslim aristocracies. Many of these ruling families were originally of Pathan or Afghan descent. Some of them claimed residence in the Punjab for many centuries, while others

had settled there in the more recent wave of invasions. These ruling families might have spoken a mixture of Pashtu and Punjabi. Other local chiefs as well as the great majority of the farming population were Punjabi-speaking indigenous Muslims.

Ranjit Singh

Ranjit Singh was a small man with one blind eye and a pock-marked face—the result of smallpox. His other eye was large and bright and all-observant. Like the Mughal emperor Akbar, and Haider Ali of southern India, Ranjit Singh never learned to read, but he was extremely intelligent and inquisitive.

Ranjit Singh's grandfather had been one of the Sikh chiefs who had struggled with Ahmed Shah Abdali over Amritsar. Ranjit Singh's grandfather and father had acquired lands in the Gujranwala area by conquest and alliances. Ranjit Singh's father had led the border chiefs to extend Sikh rule to the Margalla Pass and Hasan Abdal in the time of Shah Zaman. When Ranjit Singh was a young boy he was betrothed in order to make an alliance between two rival families. In 1791, when Ranjit Singh was twelve years old, his father died. At thirteen he was participating in Sikh raids along the Harro River.

His father's death had left Ranjit Singh under the tutelage of his powerful mother. Soon Ranjit was married. From then on, Ranjit's mother-in-law as well as his own mother (and later his wife), would all be important figures in Punjabi politics. Ranjit first struggled with his mother for authority over her family's *misl* with its land and fighting men. At seventeen, Ranjit Singh took the reigns of power into his own hands (he is accused of having had his mother murdered), and set about expanding his power over other Sikh *misls*.

By his spirited resistance to Shah Zaman's first invasions of the Punjab, and by his attempts to occupy Lahore, Ranjit Singh earned the respect of other Sikh chiefs, the Afghan ruler, and the eminent citizens of Lahore. From his youngest days, however, Ranjit Singh was a realist and a pragmatist, therefore, by 1798, was assisting Shah Zaman to withdraw from the Punjab on his way to Persia and Afghanistan. When one dozen of Shah Zaman's valuable canons sank in the Jhelum River, Ranjit Singh promised to retrieve them and have them sent on to Kabul.

Ranjit did manage to have eight canons delivered to the Afghan monarch who, in surprised gratitude, gave Ranjit Singh the grant of

Lahore. There was no Afghan force provided to help him wrest the city from its resident chiefs, but the local elite, having seen Ranjit Singh's earlier efforts at defending the city, decided that Ranjit Singh was preferable to the old chiefs and their sons who had grown lazy and luxury-loving over the years. Therefore, they agreed to open the Lahore Gate to Ranjit Singh who entered Anarkali in 1799 at the head of a large force. By the age of twenty-one, Ranjit had established himself as monarch in Lahore.

He tried to use his original authority in the Gujranwala area, inherited from his parents and in-laws, and the Afghan grant of Lahore to give himself an image of legitimacy. Knowing the weakness of his claims, however, he never struck coins in his own name, but rather in the name of the Sikh *Khalsa*. And he treated the Akalis, or Sikh militants, with respect. Both the Sikhs and the Muslims of the Punjab made him fight for every bit of territory and revenue.

After Shah Zaman's withdrawal, the Margalla Pass seems to have formed the border between the Afghan Empire on the west, which still included Hasan Abdal, and the chaotic Punjab on the east, where independent, mostly Muslim chieftains, were coming under increasing pressure from the Sikh armies.

Punjab

In the Punjab the nineteenth century opened with a stand-off between Ranjit Singh, the young Sikh ruler of Gujranwala and Lahore on one side, and an alliance of four Sikh chiefs (of Amritsar, Gujrat, Wazirabad and Ramgaon—east of Sukkur in Rajasthan) and the Muslim ruler of Kasur on the other. This alliance broke up on the death of the ruler of Amritsar. Its armies, which had been facing Ranjit Singh's forces midway between Lahore and Amritsar, now dispersed.

In 1802, with the help of several other Sikh chiefs, Ranjit Singh defeated and evicted the ruler's widow at Amritsar. The control of Amritsar was essential to Ranjit Singhs's claims to be ruler of the Sikhs. Lahore remained Ranjit Singh's capital, but for the past quarter century, Amritsar had been progressing while Lahore had declined.

By the turn of the century, commerce and industry was thriving in Amritsar. Over the next twenty years, Ranjit Singh had the temple and fortifications of Amritsar rebuilt with great magnificence. During Sikh rule on the other hand, the buildings of Lahore suffered from

neglect and even vandalism, although the worst destruction probably happened during the less disciplined times before and after Ranjit Singh's reign.

In the same year, the Sikh chief of Wazirabad acknowledged Ranjit Singh's rule. Ranjit Singh went on to battle the Sials of Jhang and to conquer the *zamindars* of Uch. Pindi, Bhattian and Chiniot were also added to his kingdom.

The British take Delhi

While Ranjit Singh was emerging as the most dynamic of the Sikh chiefs in the Punjab, Holkar was becoming the strongest of the five Maratha leaders of Central India. In 1802, Holkar conquered Poona, the traditional capital of the Maratha Confederacy. Under their frankly imperialist Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, the British were prepared to take full advantage of these internal power struggles.

A treaty between the British and the defeated Peshwa was signed. This led to a state of war which ranged across almost the entire length and breadth of the subcontinent from 1803 until 1818, when the Marathas were finally subdued by the British. A series of treaties marked the conclusion of different phases of the War. With the signing of the first treaty, the entire east coast of the subcontinent passed into British hands.

By the end of 1803, the British had taken Aligarh, Agra and Delhi from the second most powerful Maratha leader (since 1788), Sindia, and had paid their hypocritical respects to the old blind Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam. The British Residents in Delhi maintained a diplomatic fiction of subservience to the Mughal Empire until Shah Alam's death in 1806.

Muslim Reform Movements

After Shah Walliullah's death, his successors continued his work. Shah Walliullah's son, Shah Abdul Aziz, recognized the practical value of Muslims learning English. Many English-medium schools had been set up in Bengal by Christian missionaries and individual educators. After 1803, such schools were founded in Delhi, Agra and Bareilly, but some *ulema* issued *fatwas* against them. They were, therefore, boycotted by the Muslims. In 1804, Shariat-ullah started the Faraizi movement in Bengal, which became a major centre of anti-British Islamic reform.

British, Marathas and Sikhs

Now the Maratha leader, Holkar, took the offensive. With great difficulty, the British defended their occupation of Delhi against Holkar's advances. They then launched a series of disastrous assaults upon the Maratha leader. It was the great expense of these unsuccessful attacks on Holkar which brought about Wellesley's recall by the London directors who had earlier been so enthusiastic about Wellesley's successful steps towards making England the paramount power in India.

The Second Maratha War was disastrous not only for the Company's budget, but for Central India as well. Between 1803 and 1805, Wellesley managed to destroy all local authority and prosperity in Central India. The Pindaris, who were originally the broken remnants of Mughal and Maratha armies, now became freebooters for the Marathas, and began to pillage the countryside.

In 1804, the new Governor-General, Lord Lake, managed to drive Holkar to the Punjab. Holkar went to Patiala and sought help from the Sikh chieftains. A *Gurumata* was now called in 1805 to consider the Maratha leader's request for assistance against the British. It was the duty of the Sikh militants, or Akalis, to convene the annual Sikh Assembly, or *Gurumata*, but this custom had not been followed since 1773. The Sikh chiefs decided that Holkar's cause was hopeless, and Holkar moved on to Amritsar to petition Ranjit Singh for aid against the British.

By their refusal to take up Holkar's challenge to co-operate with the Marathas in yet another attempt to resist British expansion, the Sikh chiefs were unknowingly presiding over the end of a specifically Sikh form of government. After this, the Akalis lost their crucial role in Sikh politics, although they continued to be armed and influential, and the Lahore monarch, Ranjit Singh, was always careful to placate them, even awarding them tax-free lands. This was the last *Gurumata* to be held.

Ranjit Singh was very much inclined to join forces with the Marathas against the British, but his advisors dissuaded him. Treaties were signed in 1806 between the British and Holkar, and between the British, Ranjit Singh and the Sikh chief Alluwalia. The Sikhs agreed not to assist Holkar nor to give him refuge. In exchange, the British promised not to interfere in the territories of Ranjit Singh and Alluwallia.

Ranjit Singh now proceeded to expand his power on both sides of the Sutlej. The town of Ludhiana and its hinterland were seized, and the Muslim ruling family, headed by two widows, was plundered. Patiala and many of the estates in the Ferozepur district also came under Ranjit's control.

In what is now the Pakistani Punjab, the Chathas of Rasul Nagar and the Khweshgi Afghans of Kasur continued to resist numerous raids and incursions before these principalities were finally incorporated into the Sikh kingdom. The fall of these rulers was a major defeat for Muslim power in the Punjab. Kasur had been an important political and cultural centre in the eighteenth century—the home of the poets Bulleh Shah and Sufi Inayat Shah. This defeat meant the end of Kasur as an important city.

The other Sikh chiefs were watching Ranjit Singh's expanding kingdom with increasing alarm. In 1808, they appealed to the British Resident in Delhi to protect them from Ranjit Singh.

British Diplomacy

The French were again actively pursuing their ambitions in Asia. 1807 saw a treaty signed between Russia and France, 'to co-operate against the possessions of the India Company'. In 1808 the French army was on its way to Persia, and the Sindhi rulers had granted them permission to use Sindhi ports. These developments set off a new round of diplomatic activity on the part of the British. Soon the rulers of Persia, Sindh, Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab were receiving British envoys.

When Ranjit Singh learned that a British embassy was approaching his territories, he prepared the ground by launching a new round of attacks and diplomatic initiatives in East Punjab, meant to show control over Ambala, Patiala and Amritsar. In return for an alliance with England against France, Ranjit Singh wanted the British to recognize him as ruler of all the Sikhs, and to promise not to interfere in any disputes between him and the Afghans.

Unfortunately for Ranjit Singh, however, the British had now decided that France was not such a threat after all. Therefore, they did not feel compelled to make concessions for Ranjit Singh's friendship. The British decided to support the other Sikh petitioners. They demanded that Ranjit Singh limit his conquests to the north-west of the Sutlej River. Both sides prepared for war, and large forces were drawn up near Ludhiana.

Then Ranjit Singh suddenly announced that he was willing to sign a treaty with the British, promising to limit his aggressions to the north of the Sutlej River in exchange for British non-interference in his kingdom's affairs. No one knows whether the Sikh monarch had actually intended to go into battle with the British, or if he was simply making a show of force in order to strengthen his bargaining position. Unlike the other Sikh chiefs, he was able to deal with the British not as a humble petitioner, but as a neighbouring power.

Nevertheless, the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809 had momentuous effects for the future of the Punjab. The Sikhs were permanently divided. If the British had not been the paramount power in the subcontinent, with a strong presence in Delhi, Ranjit Singh would probably have built a kingdom centred on the Sikh populations of what is now the Indian Punjab south-east of the Sutlej River. Instead, he now set about extending his territories to the north, west and south-west. The people and local rulers of these areas were overwhelmingly non-Sikh, and most of them were Muslim.

If the Sikhs had united under Ranjit Singh against the British, could the Europeans have been kept at bay indefinitely? With less pressure from Ranjit Singh, how would the Muslim principalities of the area have taken advantage of the waning of Afghan power? The Sikhs in present-day India, and the Muslims of the Punjab, Kashmir and the Frontier areas are still dealing with the consequences of this first direct British interference in their history.

Frontier

In 1809, Elphinstone visited the Afghan ruler's court in Peshawar where he was favourably impressed with the dignity and hospitality of Shah Shuja. He was also impressed by what he saw as the high state of tribal government, or the *jirga* system. This extended from hamlet representatives to the village *jirga*, to the *khel* or clan *jirga*, to the tribal *jirga*, to the Loya *jirga* which advised the Amir of Kabul.

Elphinstone, the first Englishman to visit Peshawar, set its population at about one hundred thousand,

> ...men of all nations and languages in every variety of dress and appearance...mixed people of the town in white turbans, some in large white or blue frocks and others in sheepskin coats...Persians and Afghans in brown woollen tunics or flowing mantles and capes of black sheepskin or coloured silk...Khyberees with the straw sandals and the wild dress

> and air of their mountains...Hazarahs, not more remarkable for their conical caps of skin, with the wool appearing like a fringe around the edge, and for their broad faces and little eyes, than for their want of a beard, which is the ornament of every other face in the city...a few women with long white veils that reach their feet...

Shah Shuja himself was ousted from the Kabul throne just a few weeks later by his brother Mahmud, who had ruled earlier from 1800 to 1803. For more than thirty years (until his murder in 1842), Shah Shuja's attempts to regain the Afghan throne would play a great part in the politics of the area. The local Muslim chiefs, Ranjit Singh, and eventually the British, would all try to use Shah Shuja's claims for their own purposes. Pottinger's 1810 visit to Balochistan produced accounts of the glories of Nasir the Great's reign. Although he had died fifteen years before, the present court seemed to be resting on memories of the past.

Between the Sutlej and the Indus, 1809-19

When the Bhangi Sikh chiefs lost their last outpost of Gujrat to Ranjit Singh in 1809, this monarch had subdued as much Sikh-controlled territory as he would be allowed to by the British. Ranjit Singh spent the next ten years subduing the Muslim-ruled areas to the south, west and north—Sahiwal, Khushab and Mangla in 1809, and Daska in 1810. If it were not for his agreement with the British, Ranjit Singh might very well have clashed with the Gurkha kingdom of Nepal, which had attained its greatest extent in 1803 and had now expanded its territories to include Dera Dun not far from Simla.

Ranjit Singh's repeated attacks on southern Punjab (Multan, Uch, and the Derajat area along the Indus), and Kashmir kept him, as well as their local Muslim governors, enmeshed in the politics of the Afghan Empire. Ranjit Singh was happy to maintain the fiction of being a loyal vassal of the Afghans as long as he received a large proportion of the revenue from the areas he was trying to bring under control. When the two Muslim brothers who ruled Attock and Kashmir supported the ousted Shah Shuja in a bid to recover Peshawar from the ruling Shah Mahmud, Ranjit Singh, as well as Shah Mahmud, sent forces to 'punish' Kashmir. They first grouped at the Rohtas Fort. The Sikhs and Afghans were supposedly co-operating to reclaim this rich province for Shah Mahmud, but, in fact, they were racing with each other to seize the lion's share of Kashmir's tribute.

The Afghan troops, used to the bitter cold, the snow and the mountains, outshone the Sikhs in battle and then refused to share the tribute with them. Ranjit Singh, in annoyance, took over Attock on the banks of the Indus. A force of Yusafzai and Khattak Pathans gathered on the west bank of the turbulent river and tried to lure the Sikhs into a reckless attempt to cross the raging waters.

Eventually the Sikh general, Ahali Phoola Singh, plunged into the river with his elite cavalry. Many men and much equipment were lost in the strong current, but Ahali Phoola Singh managed to cross to the other side, where the Sikhs defeated the Pathans in the Battle of Haidaru in 1813. The Afghans looked on while their lines between Kabul and Kashmir were being cut.

After this the Sikhs began to raid the trans-Indus districts. An important Sikh temple was built at Hasan Abdal, and in 1814, Rawalpindi and its estates came under the direct control of Ranjit Singh in Lahore.

Kashmir

As we have seen, Kashmir's wealth was sufficient to attract both Afghan and Sikh greed. Its location just north of the invasion routes, had saved it from devastation, and had helped its development. Trade rerouted itself through Kashmir. Merchants and craftsmen were attracted to its main city, Srinagar. Workshops there produced great quantities of high quality goods which found their way into the subcontinent, Central Asia and Europe.

Silk production, which had originally been learnt from the Chinese and which had been encouraged by the Mughal aristocracy, also continued to flourish. Since the seventeenth century, Europeans had been sending out designs to be followed in the manufacture of various shawls in Kashmir. There were many merchants from France in Kashmir, ordering products which they knew were prized in the West. They had with them pattern books, with designs popular in Europe, for the weavers to copy. These designs were usually based on earlier shawls which had found their way from Kashmir (often through Turkey) to Europe.

While both men and women wore shawls in the subcontinent, shawls were worn only by women in Europe and North America, while the men preferred neckcloths (the precursor of the modern-day necktie). In 1784 a workshop had been set up in Norwich, England to try to imitate these Kashmiri neckcloths. They were produced for

export to the newly independent United States of America, so far away from Kashmir that people wouldn't, or couldn't, insist upon the much superior genuine Kashmiri articles.

The English, who originally came to the Indian subcontinent to purchase cloth manufactured there, were now starting to produce cloth for export in their own country. After 1785, power looms, spinning machines and steam engines were coming into use in England. India and China would both continue to export large quantities of cotton cloth to England, until 1815, but by the end of the century the competition of English machine-made fabrics would be felt in India.

Imitation Kashmiri shawls were produced in Edinburgh, Scotland from 1787. These imitations did gain some popularity, first in England, and later (by 1800) in France, but the real Kashmiri products remained much superior for almost a century and were much more valuable. In the 1790s, a Kashmiri shawl could sell for 300 pounds in France, a stupendous sum in those days. The Empress Josephine, first wife of France's Napoleon (1804–12) had a collection of three to four hundred shawls, many of them gifts from the ruler of the Ottoman Empire. The First French imitation appeared in 1804.

Originally it was the wool of wild mountain goats which was woven into the universally acknowledged world's finest wool. By the early 1800s, these Kashmiri goats had been domesticated. Merchants distributed this wool to thousands of weavers, and put them to work, sometimes individually, but often in fairly large workshops, producing various kinds of scarfs, kerchiefs, shawls, etc., of wool, silk, cotton and different fibre mixtures.

In 1808, the Scots even tried to bring goats back from Kashmir to raise in Paisley, Scotland. This attempt failed, but the town of Paisley proceeded to produce Scottish copies of French copies of Kashmiri shawls. They could not hope to attain the quality achieved in Edinburgh or England, much less Kashmir, but they were able to hire workers for little pay and they developed methods of mass production. This is why the typically Kashmiri design of a tear-drop shape, curled back upon itself, is now called a Paisley print all over the world.

Kashmir, under loose Afghan rule, would continue to prosper, but, as an area of relatively more advanced manufacture, it would be among the first to suffer competition from the economic progress which was now speeding ahead in the West. This progress was causing the English to lose interest in their commercial involvement with Kashmir.

More Sikh Conquests

Kashmir was not the only centre of high quality fabric production in the present-day Pakistan area. Multan was another centre of handicraft production, which had escaped some, if not all of the devastation at the end of the Mughal Empire. Richard Burton, the British envoy who travelled through the Pakistan and Afghanistan regions in the 1830s, heard it said that 'a wife should not torment her husband for Thatta silks and Multani muslins.'

The long heroic struggle of Multan (1802–18) to defend itself against Ranjit Singh's forces (and it had been subject to Sikh attacks since 1771), would have made an important chapter of history if Sikh rule (like Mughal or British rule) once established had lasted. Ranjit Singh used the famous canon, the Zam-Zama, or Kim's Gun, in his conquest of Multan.

In 1818, with the Afghan rulers involved in an internal power struggle, Ranjit Singh was able to march his army into Peshawar. However, he left again after collecting a small tribute, without attempting to hold on to the city. Dera Ismail Khan was also held briefly.

Most importantly, the Sikhs were able to annex Kashmir when its Afghan governor went to Kabul after the murder of his brother Fatteh Khan. One of Ranjit Singh's first acts as ruler of Kashmir was to distribute the income from taxation of the shawl manufacturers. Dera Ghazi Khan was annexed in 1820, and the Makra principality including Leiah, Bakkar and Dera Ismail Khan was defeated once more in 1821.

Sikh Army

In 1822 Ranjit Singh modernized his army. Before this, it had been a collection of feudal levies provided by local chiefs as a duty to their monarch. Groups of Sikh religious militants, who had earlier played a role in the conquest of Multan, were still retained, and were soon pitted against the Muslim religious militants—the *ghazis* and *mujahids* of the Frontier.

Now Ranjit Singh recruited European officers. Napoleon's final defeat meant that some extremely competent and seasoned officers were seeking employment, including the generals Allard and Ventura. They organized, trained and drilled a large, well-equipped standing

army. The new officers were well provided for, but were restricted to military roles and had no political influence.

Ranjit Singh also sent his own officers to enlist with the British in order to learn about their organization. The army which was set up at this time was considered by the British to equal their armed forces, with its artillery possibly superior.

The fact that many of Pakistan's most beautiful art treasures are currently housed in the National Museum at Paris dates back to days when European officers led princely lives in the Punjab and Frontier. Inspired by the treasure hunting going on at this time in the Egyptian pyramids, General Ventura had some of the local ruins dug up. The Europeans were amazed to find Greek and Roman coins and statues in vaguely Greek or Roman style.

In 1822, Ranjit Singh came to an understanding with the Afghan governor of Peshawar. Mohammed Azem, the governor's brother and the ruler of Kabul, did not approve of this gradual erosion of Muslim authority. Therefore, he joined forces with the tribesmen who were fighting under the leadership of the Pir of Sithana—Sayyid Akbar Shah. The Battle of Nowshera in 1823 (on the site of the present cantonment) was the last sincere effort by an Afghan ruler to defend the present-day NWFP area against the Sikhs.

In spite of heavy losses from Sikh artillery, the *mujahiddin* were willing to continue the struggle, but the Afghan ruler withdrew, leaving the tribesmen feeling betrayed, and the countryside up to Peshawar open to Sikh plunder. The four Afghan brothers who ruled Peshawar submitted to Ranjit Singh, who divided it among them. It is said that when the news of Peshawar's fall was sent to Azem, he fell ill with mortification and anger and died soon after.

The Sikhs now began an annual harassment of the Bannu Plain. Kohat and Bannu were brought nominally under Sikh rule, and a rebellion in the Attock area was suppressed. The Sikhs built a fort at Khairabad (which has now disappeared), across the Indus River from Attock, but the route to Khyber through Hazara remained unsettled. The hill tribes were unruly. After several failed efforts with much massacre and burning of villages, Ranjit Singh installed Hari Singh in Hazara to subdue and punish the tribes.

Haripur, named after Hari Singh, was strategically important because it controlled the route through the hills to the Indus River at Tarbela (then a small village nine kilometres upstream from the present dam). A fort was built at Haripur (which has also disappeared).

After one big defeat, Hari Singh lost five hundred men at Nara at the base of the Gandghar hills in 1824. However, he managed to consolidate his power in the lower Hazara area. After this there were just occasional sorties that disturbed the general peace.

When Mohammed Azem died in 1826, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Dost Mohammed. At the time of his death his kingdom extended only a hundred miles in each direction from Kabul. One of Dost Mohammed's brothers ruled Kandahar, and Shah Mahmud's son ruled Herat. The brothers who presided over Peshawar were completely subservient to the Sikhs. It became more and more clear that it was not the ruler of Afghanistan, but the tribesmen and their religious leaders who would provide the most stubborn resistance to Ranjit Singh's ambitions.

The Sikh conquest of the Frontier would never be complete. The Frontier tribesmen had gradually shifted their loyalty and respect from Ahmed Shah Abdali's family to that of the Mohammedzai chiefs—Fatteh Khan and his brothers. Now this family too, would lose the support of the fiercely Muslim tribesmen because of their conciliatory attitude towards the non-Muslim Sikhs. After seven years of misrule by the Afghan governors under the Sikhs, the local tribes of the Peshawar area rose once again.

The British (1813-28)

There was a feeling of success and progress among Englishmen, both in England, where industry and trade were flourishing, and in the subcontinent, where the pacification of Central India was a major step in the unification and solidification of the British Empire in India.

Free trade had replaced Mercantilism as the economic fashion of the moment. While the Mercantilists preached government intervention (monopolies, military actions, customs, etc.) to ensure superior trade relationships, the belief in free trade left not only the local rajahs, with their customs fees, but also the English East India Company, founded with a royally granted monopoly on the Indies trade, looking distinctly unfashionable.

Now that the British economy was strong, its traders were confident they could flourish best in open competition. The 1813 Charter for the Company reflected this confidence. It ended the Company's monopolies on all items except opium. This, traded for Chinese tea, provided for the salaries of the Company's personnel.

Lord Hastings, (1813-23)

The British, meanwhile, were achieving more victories in the far-flung parts of South Asia: Nepal, Central India, and even Burma. Although the Gurkhas of Nepal were defeated and their newly expanded borders pushed back again in 1814–16, they retained both their independence, and the respect of the English, who still hire them as mercenary soldiers. Lord Moira, Governor-General at the time, was made Marquess of Hastings as a reward for his success against the Gurkhas.

The Marquess of Hastings personified the new attitude of self-confidence and optimism. He followed his military successes with efforts to rebuild the old Mughal canals and roads, which had been allowed to fall into disrepair, but he was not popular with the Muslims of the subcontinent. He first curtailed the expressions of respect which the British had traditionally paid the Mughal emperor, and then encouraged the Nawab of Oudh to assume the title of King. This was an unsuccessful attempt to divide the Muslims; the Mughal emperor being Sunni and the, Nawab of Oudh Shia. In 1816, a Muslim religious outbreak in Rohilkhand and an agrarian revolt in Orissa were both suppressed. The pretext of combatting Pindari depredations gave the British a good excuse to start the Third Maratha War in 1817, and Maratha power was effectively ended by 1820.

First Burmese War 1824-6

The First Burmese War resulted in the expansion of the British Indian Empire into Assam and along the Burmese coast. It was also the occasion of a mutiny by a regiment of Indian soldiers, who refused to move unless transport was provided for individual cooking gear—a necessity for observing Hindu caste distinctions. The soldiers were brutally suppressed. They were fired upon, hundreds were condemned to 14 years' hard labour on road gangs, and a dozen were executed and their bodies hung in chains as a warning to the rest.

East and West Interact, 1813–28

The English East India Company was instructed by its 1813 Charter to promote education and science, but the objections of the Orientalists in the Company prevented any significant advances. It was in fact the Muslim intellectuals of Delhi who were confident that interaction

could enrich Islamic thought rather than endanger it. The Delhi College, formed from a *madrasah* by the Company in 1825, became a centre for the meeting of East and West, and for Urdu writing.

Muslim intellectuals, led by Maulvi Nazir Ahmad and Altaf Hussain Hali, studied Western thought with enthusiasm. English works were translated into Urdu. The use of the printing press was finally accepted by the Muslims of the subcontinent in 1825, and Shah Walliullah's successors put it to good use publishing translations of the Holy Quran and other important works.

Shah Walliullah's sons and grandsons were mainly of a scholarly disposition. But other followers took up the cause of reviving Islam in various ways; as preachers, throughout the northern subcontinent, or as political organizers, against the Hindu landlords and the British administration in Bengal, and as military leaders, against Sikh expansion into the present-day NWFP region.

Ahmed Shah Barelvi, the leader of the *jehad* against the Sikhs, started to publish and preach in the Delhi area around 1818. The Faraizi movement of Shariat-ullah was carried on by his son, Dudhu Miyan (1819-1860), who roused the peasantry against the Hindu *zamindars* and the English indigo planters.

Just as Shah Walliullah's attempts to reform and revitalize Muslim life had gone hand in hand with his encouragement of a Muslim coalition to prevent Hindu-Maratha rule, Ahmed Shah Barelvi and Dudhu Miyan saw spiritual and political revitalization as inseparable. They wanted their fellow Muslims to purge themselves of unIslamic practises and beliefs and to purge the subcontinent of non-Muslim (Sikh and British) rule.

Sayyid Ahmed Shah Barelvi

Ahmed Shah Barelvi arrived from northern India with his followers in 1826 to help in the struggle against the Sikhs. In Sindh, it is said that the first Pir of Pagaro organized his followers to support Ahmed Shah Barelvi. In Balochistan, the Khan of Kalat, was encouraged by Barelvi's *mujahiddin* to support the Baloch tribes who were struggling against the Sikhs in the Derajat.

By the end of the year, Ahmed Shah Barelvi found himself fighting the Afghans as well as the Sikhs. Sayyid Akbar Shah of Sithana welcomed Sayyid Ahmed to Buner. At first, the combined efforts of the local tribes, especially the Yusufzai Khans of Hund, Zaida and

Chargulla, and the volunteers from India, met with great success. Yar Mohammed was killed. The Muslim *mujahiddin* at one point occupied Peshawar for two months and attempted to establish *Shariat* rule there in 1830.

But now the complexities of the real world set in. The practises of the Frontier Muslims were, of course, different from those promulgated by the volunteers, and when the outsiders tried to dictate, conflicts arose. Many of Ahmed Barelvi's followers were slain by irate Yusufzai tribesmen.

The Sayyid had to take refuge in Pakhli in Hazara with Akbar Shah of Sithana. Soon afterwards, he and Shah Walliullah's grandnephew were taken by surprise and killed at Balakot in a Sikh raid in 1831. There is some confusion about Sayyid Ahmed's burial place at Balakot. It is said that Shah Ismail (Shah Walliullah's grandnephew) is actually interred in Sayyid Ahmed's grave, while Sayyid Ahmed's head was taken to Garhi Habibullah and his body to Talhetta, in an effort to avoid desecration by the Sikhs. At the Peshawar Museum there is a large warm mountain jacket and a coat of armour, made for a very tall man. According to tradition, they were made for Sayyid Ahmed Barelvi.

The movement lived on, and more volunteers were sent from northern India. Sayyid Ahmed's colleague, Dudhu Miyan (Titu Mir), led a peasant uprising in Bengal. The news of Peshawar's capture in 1830 is supposed to have encouraged him to take over three districts in the Calcutta area, defeating several small British detachments. A major British expedition in 1831 suppressed the uprising and killed Titu Mir about the same time that Sayyid Ahmed lost his life in the Frontier area.

The British and Sindh, 1827-34

> The people from the West have arrived here and they will loot you to the extent that you will have nothing left except for rotten bones and dead animals,

warned the great Sindhi poet, Sachal Sarmast (1739-*c.*1828).

By their strong stand in 1800, the Amirs had secured for Sindh another quarter century of freedom from British interference. The Talpur ruler, Mir Fath Ali Khan died in 1802, and Central Sindh was subdivided into four among his son, brothers and nephews, one of them being vaguely acknowledged as Rais, or chief.

A treaty to exclude all non-British European settlements from Sindh, which had first been proposed to the Talpur Amirs in Hyderabad in the time of Napoleon, was finally signed in 1820. During a border dispute in 1825 between Kutch and Sindh, British forces were mobilized in Kutch, where a British adviser or 'Resident' was stationed. But good relations prevailed, and the rulers of Sindh invited the Kutch Residency surgeon, Dr James Burnes, to treat Mir Murad Ali in Hyderabad. After Dr Burnes had sailed up the Indus, he wrote a report on the commercial possibilities of that river as a trade route.

Burnes felt that goods which were then being shipped over the Khyber Pass and through Punjab to India by camel could, more easily, be transported by boats down the Indus, and then by ship from Karachi to Bombay or to other south Indian ports. He complained that the local rajahs along the river were obstructing trade by charging various tolls and fees. Burnes also stated that irrigation could turn the Indus into another Nile.

Russia had now replaced Napoleon's France as England's chief rival among the European imperial powers. This Russian-British rivalry was the impetus behind British explorations of Ladakh, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Balkh and Bokhara. By 1828, British influence in Persia was declining compared to Russian influence, and in 1829, Lord Ellenborough predicted that the English East India 'Company would have to fight the Russians on the Indus.'

In 1831, when a commercial treaty between the British and Ranjit Singh was to be signed in Lahore, the Amirs of Sindh allowed the surgeon's brother, Alexander Burnes, to transport a gift of English cart horses up the river to Ranjit Singh. It took Burnes five months to reach Lahore. He travelled under sail when there was a favourable wind, but had to be dragged from the bank for much of the distance.

After almost drowning near Kalabagh, he was ferried across the Indus at Attock. 'Alas,' remarked one Sindhi, 'Sindh has now gone since the English have seen the river.'

The following year, the British envoy Pottinger visited Karachi on his way to investigate the situation in Balochistan and Persia. He found that the business community of Karachi, made up mostly of Hindus, was prosperous and well-organized. The Hindu merchants had called a *hartal*, or a business closedown, to protest against forcible conversions to Islam, and they had won assurances of freedom of religion from the Muslim authorities.

Sindh was surrounded by three ambitious neighbours; Shah Ṡhuja the Afghan, their nominal overlord, Ranjit Singh of Punjab, who wanted to absorb the Shikarpur area, and the British, who were interested in Sindh for its commerce, and as a buffer against Russia. Hoping that an alliance with England would discourage Sikh and Afghan aggression, the Sindhi rulers entered into a treaty with the British in 1832.

Pottinger became the first British Resident in Sindh, and the Indus River was opened to British trade. There were to be no armed vessels or military stores, and neither party was to covet the other's territory. At first, the Amirs' strategy seemed to be working; in 1833 Shah Shuja signed a treaty releasing Sindh from its obligation to pay tribute. A treaty with the Nawab of Bahawalpur in 1833 opened the Sutlej as well as the Indus River to British trade, and another treaty between Sindh and the British was signed in 1834.

The Age of Steam arrived in Sindh with steam engines to power the British riverboats. The Indus Steam Navigation Company was formed. With great reluctance, the Amirs allowed firewood for the steam boats to be cut from the forests along the river. They also let the British Indian Navy survey the Karachi harbour area and other Indus Delta ports. From 1831 to 1838 the British styled themselves as protectors of Sindh, but continued to complain that customs fees put a damper on commerce.

Lord Bentinck (1828-35)

The spirit of optimism prevailing among the British at that time was enthusiastically expressed by Lord Bentinck. He was a Utilitarian—one who believed that actions are right because they are useful, and that the greatest happiness of the greatest number should be the guiding principle of conduct. He was a firm believer in reform, rationality, and universal human values, and he was willing to interfere with local social and religious customs which offended his sense of morality.

Bentinck prohibited *sati*, or the burning of Hindu widows, which had earlier been outlawed by the Mughals, and was now opposed by the more westernized Hindus. He also discouraged infanticide of baby girls.

In 1831, a peasant revolt against maladministration in Mysore was suppressed by Company forces and the state was taken over, although

not actually annexed. In a campaign against the thugs, a Hindu robber cult, over 1,500 men were detained on the charge of thuggi within seven years. In their suppression of the Pindaris, the dacoits, Mysore peasant thugs, the British relied on force and failed to look at the underlying problems which drove men to such desperate lives. The publicity given to the campaigns against *sati*, infanticide, thuggi, etc., inculcated in English people a distaste for the Indian way of life.

The Charter of 1833

Lord Bentinck may have given himself the task of updating Indian society. The task which he performed for his directors was the updating of the English East India Company, so that its Charter would be passed in 1833. His first challenge was to make the Company more economical and efficient. Under the new Charter, the Company lost all monopoly privileges, even its monopoly on opium at a time when taxes on agricultural lands were also proving insufficient.

The 1833 Charter instructed the Company to be mindful of the welfare of the people living in its territories. In Europe, the idea that a government had a duty to work for the welfare of the people was just gaining ground (this concept of good government is, of course, basic to Islamic beliefs, if not always in practice, and was thus already known in the subcontinent.) Between 1834 and 1837, English replaced Persian as the official language of government business. This was done because it was found that the natives were learning English much faster than Englishmen were learning Persian. They were also cheaper to hire.

A beginning was made towards the unifying of the legal system. Thomas Babington Macaulay was a brilliant young Englishman who helped pilot the English East India Company's 1833 Charter through the Parliament in London, and then came out to the subcontinent to create a unified legal system, and a western system of education.

Macaulay's Minute on Education

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic...who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia...We must...form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.

Macaulay's views were based on an extremely dangerous mixture of total innocence, ignorance and good intentions for the welfare of the people of the subcontinent. His effort was to create a nation of clerks, half westernized, half native, who could economically man the offices of the British Raj. He is still seen as the father of Western education in the subcontinent, and much of the weakness of the education system, still stems from Macaulay's attempts at reform.

CONCLUSION: 1799-1835

The English Liberals of the 1830s felt that all races had equal potential; in other words, they believed that the 'natives' of the subcontinent could learn, through good example Western education, and enlightened Western ways, so that they would eventually be capable of self-government and co-operation with the West as equals.

Among the people of the subcontinent, there were various reactions to this new mood of the English. The modern Hindu, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, was an enthusiastic supporter of English-medium education. He opened his own school and founded the School Book Society to sell English language books. On the other hand, some 8,000 ulema's signed a petition against education in English in 1835.

The middle ground was occupied by the poet Ghalib, the last of the great classicists and the first among modernists. Ghalib did not like Western clothes or food or even the English language, but he was impressed by science and technology; by the steam engine, the telegraph, matchsticks, ocean liners, and gas lights. He was also attracted by the idea of constitutional governments.

28

British Conquer the Pakistan Area 1835-57

The British and the Afghans

In 1830, the Sikhs defeated the last groups of Ghakkars and the Dhund tribe of Punjabis in the Murree Hills. This area was important to the Sikhs for communication with Kashmir. During another power struggle among the Afghans, Ranjit Singh formally annexed Peshawar to the Sikh Kingdom in 1834, appointing a Sikh governor for the region. The end of all pretense of Muslim rule in the Frontier was a great blow to Afghan pride.

In May of 1835, Dost Mohammed marched from Kabul with his army. The Sikhs sent 40,000 men to meet the Afghans at the eastern end of the Khyber Pass. The local tribes remained aloof. Dost Mohammed was betrayed and surrounded, and had to retreat to Kabul.

The Kabul ruler now asked the British to put pressure on Ranjit Singh to re-establish, at least nominal Afghan authority in Peshawar. The British declined to involve themselves in this quarrel, but expressed an interest in commercial ties. Alexander Burnes was dispatched to the Kabul court. The Afridis escorted him safely through the Khyber Pass.

In 1836, the Sikhs formally annexed Dera Ismail Khan. In 1837, Hari Singh occupied Jamrud and built a fort at the mouth of the Khyber Pass. This alarmed Dost Mohammed. He once again led his troops over the Pass from Kabul. A major battle was fought on the site of the present-day Peshawar University campus. The Sikhs could not be driven back, but they did lose an important general, the much-feared Hari Singh, and they had to abandon their efforts to annex Kohat when the local tribes supported Kabul.

The Great Game

Receiving no encouragement from the British, Dost Mohammed opened correspondence with Persia and Russia. The British were already concerned about Persia's alliance with France and Russia, and with Persia's attacks on the independent Afghan kingdom of Herat. The British did not want French and Russian influence in Herat because, in their eyes, it commanded the only practicable land route from the West to the subcontinent. Therefore, they decided to take sides in the dispute between Dost Mohammed and Ranjit Singh.

The Sikh Kingdom, which had been steadily expanding under one ruler for almost half a century, seemed a more valuable ally than Afghanistan, which during the same time, had been steadily shrinking under eight rulers. The British offered to help Ranjit Singh replace Dost Mohammed with Shah Shuja, who had been attempting to regain the Afghan throne for the past three decades. The clever Sikh ruler expressed enthusiasm for this plan, but left the British to shoulder the burden of its execution.

A tripartite treaty was signed by the British, the Sikhs and the Afghan Shah Shuja in June 1838. The treaty confirmed Ranjit Singh's rule over the Punjab, Kashmir and the Frontier, but stated that he would make no further advances in Sindh. (The Sindhi Amirs had appealed to the British for mediation against possible Sikh aggression earlier in 1838.) Shah Shuja also renounced all claims to Sindh as well as to former Afghan territories in the Punjab. He was recognized as ruler of Kabul and Kandahar (although not Herat), and he promised to inform both the Sikhs and the British of all his international dealings.

Partly in response to British threats and naval manoeuvres, the Persians and their French and Russian advisers lifted the siege of Herat in November of 1838, but this did not dissuade the English East India Company's Governor-General Auckland from going ahead with the Afghan adventure. He was influenced in this by his secretary, William Macnaghten. Macnaghten is often regarded as the originator of the notion that British-Russian rivalry in Central Asia was a Great Game, with local rulers as mere pawns. He now became the Political Agent for the joint expedition against Dost Mohammed.

At the end of 1838, forces in support of Shah Shuja were reviewed at Ferozepur, (on the then Sikh-British, now Pakistan-Indian border), by Lord Auckland and Ranjit Singh. They included 9,500 troops

(including Europeans) of the English East India Company's Bengal Army, 6,000 Afghan levies and about 35,000 camp followers.

They were to march through Upper Sindh to Quetta in Balochistan, where they would be joined by another British-led force from Bombay, and by Shah Shuja's recruits. Ranjit Singh promised to send a Sikh force through the Khyber Pass to meet up with the British and Afghans in Kabul. The Nawab of Bahawalpur provided the troops with supplies as they marched from Ferozepur to Sindh.

British Passage through Sindh and Balochistan

The Amirs of Sindh watched the two large British forces enter their territory—one from Ferozepur in the north, and the other, landing at the mouth of the Indus in the south. The Amirs reminded the British of the treaties which forbade the stationing of British troops in Sindh, but Lord Auckland stated that, 'No treaty will be permitted to interfere with the needs of the paramount power on the continent.'

The British, in turn, accused the Sindhis of plundering the British supplies at Hyderabad, of refusing to sell them grain in Khairpur and of being slow in furnishing the 30,000 baggage camels needed to transport the 'Army of the Indus' to Afghanistan. Karachi's fort was easily battered into submission by the guns of HMS Wellesley.

The troops of the English East India Company's Bengal Army marched on Hyderabad. Nur Mohammed of Hyderabad protested: 'Since the day that Sindh has been connected with the British there is always something new. Your government is never satisfied. We are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted.'

The British replied that trade would increase Sindh's wealth, but Nur Mohammed was not impressed. 'You tell me my country will flourish. It is quite good enough for us, and not so likely to tempt the cupidity of its neighbours. Hindustan was rich, and that is the reason it is now under your subjugation.'

In December Mir Rustam was forced to sign away the island fortress of Bukkur. He contemplated suicide, but worse humiliation was yet to come. Although Shah Shuja had signed away his rights to revenue in 1833, the British now demanded that the arrears in revenue be provided for Shah Shuja's campaign. In February of 1839, the Amirs agreed to pay for the hated army of occupation. By 11 March, all eighteen Amirs of Sindh had signed a treaty dissolving their Confederacy. The British troops crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats.

From now on, all disputes between the Amirs were to be arbitrated by British political officers, the British would dictate Sindh's foreign policy and the Amirs would pay for British forces to be garrisoned at Karachi, Thatta, Shikarpur and the river fortresses of Sukkur, Bukkur and Rohri. No tolls would be charged on the Indus river trade. Thus the Sindh government was denied a major source of revenue.

Negotiations had also been going on between the British and the Khan of Kalat, the head of the Brahui Confederacy. The British threatened to support a rival for the Khanship, and the Khan of Kalat, although he did not have complete control over his Sardars, guaranteed a safe passage for the British through the Bolan Pass. The two British-led armies were able to meet up at Quetta in April. Here they were joined by Shah Shuja, although his army did not attract many local recruits. By the end of the month, the ruler of Kandahar had fled and the armies had occupied that city.

Ranjit Singh Dies, June 1839

Six months after reviewing the British-led forces on their way to Afghanistan, Ranjit Singh died in Lahore. His life had been devoted to expansion. He had created a kingdom stretching from Tibet to the Suleiman Range and from the northern reaches of the Indus to south of Multan.

Although most of his efforts had gone into conquest, Ranjit Singh and his ruling elite were not just rude warriors. By the standards of the day, Ranjit Singh was a relatively enlightened and exceptionally well-informed monarch. He constantly had things read out to him: news reports every morning and chapters of the Sikh scriptures every afternoon.

Ranjit Singh had thoroughly modernized his army along European lines, using many European officers. His Infantry of Sikhs and Punjabi Muslims, under an Italian general, was considered the equal of the British-Indian Infantry, while his Cavalry of 12,000 and his Artillery of 300 guns, both under French generals, were considered superior to their British-Indian counterparts. But this army of 75,000-80,000, plus contingents, was, like the British-led army, an army of conquest and occupation.

Ranjit Singh attempted to placate the Muslims and the Hindus as well as the Sikhs in Punjab. The Azizuddin brothers were among the important Muslims in Ranjit Singh's government. But there was never

any possibility of a Sikh government being at all popular in the Frontier. There, Sikh rule was maintained only by sheer force.

Both the countryside and the towns of the Frontier area were constantly being plundered and suppressed. During the many Sikh attempts to capture Peshawar, a large part of the city was burned down, and the Peshawar Shalimar Gardens and Babur's fort were destroyed. Under Sikh rule many of the trees of Peshawar's numerous gardens were felled for firewood. There is no question but that the Frontier suffered under the Sikhs.

There was a distinct improvement in Punjab's commerce: taxes were set fairly low so that merchants would not divert their trade through other areas. Amritsar was the greatest beneficiary, however. By 1836 it was larger than Lahore. Travellers in the present-day Pakistan area during Sikh times were not impressed with its agricultural productivity. They suggested that production was less than in Mughal times.

Although there was some relief from Afghan invasion and warfare in Punjab, Ranjit Singh's administration tended to be a patchwork of the various systems found in the areas conquered. These included left-over Mughal systems such as farming, or contracting out revenue collection, more rough and ready post-Mughal or Afghan practises, (reliance on local chiefs to collect a share of the produce and to provide men and supplies to the centre) and relatively more modern developments, including the subdivision of agricultural lands among heirs.

If British power had not been established in Delhi by 1803, perhaps Ranjit Singh would have been able to quickly conquer his co-religionists southeast of the Sutlej, and to build a relatively modern *Khalsa* state. But he was instead pushed back across the Sutlej, where he spent his reign subduing bitterly recalcitrant Muslims. The story is told that Ranjit Singh kept a map of the subcontinent on which he had territories coloured red as they succumbed to British expansion. 'All will one day become red,' he was heard to say.

Ranjit Singh was succeeded by Prince Kharak Singh, his eldest son and recognized heir, who was considered to be an imbecile. Kharak Singh's son, Prince Nau Nihal Singh, soon decided that his father had fallen prey to bad advisers. He staged a palace revolution, and was a successful ruler for one year. Balakot was conquered, and the brutal Italian General Avitable, known to the people of the Frontier as Abu Tabela, continued as Governor in Peshawar. The Sikh forces

conducted tax collecting forays, but the government had little control over the tribes north and south of Peshawar.

The British Conquer Afghanistan, 1839

Dost Mohammed Khan proclaimed a *jehad* in Afghanistan against the tripartite alliance of the British, the Sikhs and Shah Shuja. Some one thousand *mujahiddin* were mobilized from Sithana. There was a great deal of hatred for the Sikhs in the Frontier area, but there was also much contempt for the Durranis—the Afghan ruling family, who had allowed the Sikhs to gain control of their area. The British and Shah Shuja were able to take the reputedly impregnable Ghazni fortress by assault in late July 1839.

After indulging in slaughter, the attackers moved on to Kabul. Dost Mohammed fled north across the Russian border and Kabul was taken by storm. Dost Mohammed's son and brother surrendered to the British, Shah Shuja, and a relatively small force of the Sikhs who had come up through the Khyber Pass to join them. Governor-General Auckland was made an earl, and Macnaghten, now Political Agent to Afghanistan, received the title of baronet in the euphoria following the British victory.

The British now settled in Kabul as they had settled into so many other parts of the subcontinent. A cantonment was laid out. Officers' wives arrived with trunks and furniture. Cricket matches and horse races were arranged. The puppet ruler, Shah Shuja, was installed in the Bala Hissar fort. A few Englishmen in India and London did point out that the situation was even more insecure and hazardous than in other occupied areas, but life went on more or less peacefully for two years.

Afghan and Baloch Resistance to the British, 1840–2

Military expeditions were sent to secure the borders and to put down local disturbances. During that first winter, a British expedition returned to Kalat where they killed the Khan of Kalat, Mehrab Khan, whom they considered not to have given them sufficient protection earlier, and installed a puppet. Sarawan and Kachhi were annexed to Kabul, to be administered by the British, and a treaty was signed with the puppet Khan giving the British legal cover to establish military bases in Balochistan.

But a revolt (or what the British described as fanatic outbreaks) of the tribesmen of the Shal (Quetta) and Kalat areas, at the close of 1840, forced the puppet Khan to flee, and the British to return the Sarawan and Kachhi areas to Kalat and to provide the new Khan with an annual subsidy for himself and for the Sardars as long as they remained loyal to the Khan and maintained internal peace. Tolls were agreed upon, British troops and merchants could reside in Balochistan, and the British would determine Baloch foreign policy.

The Ghilzai tribesmen in Afghanistan also had to be suppressed at this time. In November 1840, Dost Mohammed Khan surrendered to the British and was sent into exile in India, but the region remained in permanent unrest and sporadic rebellion. An entire British detachment was drowned in a flash flood in the Bolan Pass in 1841.

The British were dismayed to find that they had to maintain a large and expensive army to keep the unpopular Shah Shuja in power. To make matters worse the presence of this foreign and non-Muslim occupying force made Shah Shuja all the more unpopular. Deciding to economize and retrench, the British unwisely withheld stipends from the local Afghan chiefs. Not surprisingly, the Ghilzais rose again, and communications were cut between Kabul and Peshawar.

In November 1841, a concerted revolt began. Alexander Burnes and his younger brother were dragged from their house in Kabul and killed by a mob of Afghans loyal to Dost Mohammed. Next, William Macnaghten was assassinated at a conference with Dost Mohammed's son Akbar Khan. The Political Agent's headless and dismembered body was found hanging from a meat hook in the Great Bazaar of Kabul. The British decided to evacuate their forces.

Between fourteen and sixteen thousand people began the trek out of Afghanistan in the depths of winter. It was a motley and ill-led cavalcade, short of food and ammunition, and completely at the mercy of the cruel weather and the hostile tribesmen. Of all those thousands, only one Englishman, Dr Brydon, reached Jalalabad alive.

Many of the English women and children had been left safely in protective custody in Kabul, but the families of the Indian soldiers, the tradesmen and the other camp followers must have perished by the thousands. This debacle is remembered as one of the most humiliating defeats in military history.

Shah Shuja, the puppet of the British, was murdered by a nephew in April 1842. Lord Auckland suffered a breakdown and was recalled, but the British still held Kandahar, Ghazni and Jalalabad, and two

years after Ranjit Singh's death, the British-Sikh alliance remained secure.

The British were very nervous, however, about the attitudes of the Baloch and Sindhi rulers and people. In Shikarpur, sentries for the British were being picked off by sharpshooters, and the British treasury was attacked by an armed force from outside the town. It was rumoured that Mir Nasir Khan of Hyderabad was in correspondence with the ruler of Multan.

Both the local rulers and their British political advisers hoped that regional independence could be reasserted and that relations with the English could be restored to a dignified friendship. The British 'political', Colonel Outram, assured the young Khan of Kalat that the new British Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, would be happy to see him master of the territories around the Bolan Pass, formerly claimed by the assassinated Shah Shuja.

This, however, was not the case. The reaction of the British to their humiliation in Afghanistan was that they became even more suspicious and bullying. Outram was scolded for his diplomatic initiative.

When Ghazni had to be evacuated, the British decided to leave by way of Kabul and the Khyber Pass. Two battles were fought with Akbar Khan, Dost Mohammed's son, and Kabul was retaken in September 1842. The European prisoners were freed, and the Great Bazaar was burned down. The British moved out again in October, bringing with them what they mistakenly thought were the gates carried off from Somnath in India by Mahmud of Ghazni in AD 1025.

In 1843, Dost Mohammed was received by the Sikhs in Lahore on his way back to Kabul. He ruled independently until his death at the age of eighty, in 1863.

Sindh is Conquered, 1842-3

Charles Napier was an elderly, eccentric professional army officer. He had no admiration for the English East India Company, but accepted a posting in the subcontinent in order to provide for his two daughters. In Napier's opinion, the Company's territories had been acquired 'with the object of enriching a parcel of shopkeepers; the "shopocracy of England" as it has been well termed; and a more base and cruel tyranny never wielded the power of a great nation!' Napier called the Company 'the ignominious tyrants of the East', and he

wrote that 'their system is one of Indian exploitation and they incite to mutiny.'

Napier did not approve of the new Governor-General's punitive attitude towards Kabul, and he agreed with his political officers that the 1839 treaty had unjustly denied the Sindhi Amirs of much of their independence. Therefore, he was unenthusiastic about being sent to Sindh in September 1842. He wrote 'My present position is not...to my liking, we had no right to come here and are tarred with the Afghan brush.'

His first assignment was to supervise the retreat of the British forces from Afghanistan through Balochistan and Sindh. The troops from Kandahar had suffered casualties at the hands of the Marri tribesmen in the Quetta area. In Outram's opinion, their commander had been responsible for the deaths, and he looked forward to Napier taking control.

Napier, however, was soon at odds with his politicals, over whom he had been given authority. He considered it his job to not only enforce the 1,839 provisions, but also to impose a new and even more oppressive treaty on the Amirs. He tried to convince himself that the Talpur Amirs did not deserve justice: that they were non-Sindhis (being of Baloch descent), and vicious oppressors of the Sindhi peasants.

The Amirs' fondness for their shikargah—enclosed hunting grounds along the river banks—was seen as a symbol of their primitiveness, in contrast to the modern desire of the British to chop down trees for steamboat fuel and to use the land for defensive and productive purposes. (It is ironic that today, the protection of nature reserves is considered enlightened and far-sighted.)

Trade was a major issue, and as always, each party wanted to believe that what was beneficial for themselves would be beneficial for everybody. By 1840, there were four iron paddle steamers on the lower Indus. The trip between Thatta and Sukkur took eight days. Mir Nasir Khan feared that the opening of the Indus River to untaxed British trade would flood Sindh with (Punjab's) grain and would deplete government revenues. His officers fired on grain boats. Napier insisted that the British-imposed trade agreements were also to the benefit of Sindh.

'We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be,' wrote Napier. The new treaty would cede certain territories to the British,

and deny the Amirs the rights to mint their own coins or to tax British trade along the Indus. When the Mirs protested, Napier assumed that they intended to reject the treaty.

He steamed up the river and seized territory, putting the elderly and demoralized Mir Rustam to flight. He pushed his army on forced marches across the desert, encamping at Kot Diji before blowing up the unresisting Imamgarh fortress. He then advanced on Hyderabad where the Mirs were gathered with their followers and troops, to discuss the proposed agreement.

Although the Amirs did sign the treaty, crowds attacked the British Residency in Hyderabad. This sparked the armed confrontation. The Sindhi rulers' forces finally met the British at Miani in February 1843. There the Sindhis were defeated with great slaughter. It is said that some 5,000 Sindhi and Baloch fighters died, while the British lost only 256 men.

The battle at the village of Dubba between the forces of Charles Napier and those of Sher Muhammad inspired the curses of the Sindhi minstrel Mihru, which were sung for many years throughout the length and breadth of Sindh. After a third battle at Kunhera, most of the Talpur Amirs were taken prisoner and were exiled to India, although Ali Murad was allowed to retain his position at Khairabad.

Sindh was formally annexed to the British Empire in June 1843. Napier is said to have sent the Governor-General a telegram in Latin meaning, 'I have sinned'. This was both a pun for 'I have seized Sindh', and an admission of the injustice of his action. After the disaster in Afghanistan, the British public were more cautious about celebrating the conquest of Sindh. Objections were raised in the Parliament in London.

Monstuart Elphinstone stated that the British in Sindh, 'coming after Afghanistan, put one in mind of a bully who has been kicked in the streets and went home to beat his wife in revenge.' Sir Henry Pottinger thought that the 'treatment of the Mirs of Sindh was the most disgraceful and unprincipled that has ever stained our empire in India.' In fact, it was not the manner in which Sindh came under British rule, but simply the haste which seemed shockingly shameless, even to the English themselves. Little more than a decade had passed between the first commercial treaty and the final bloody conquest.

Napier continued to govern Sindh in his 'rude but vigorous fashion' for four years. He moved British headquarters from Hyderabad to Karachi, where it was cooler, and improved the port of Karachi.

Sukkur became a major garrison town encircled by a chain of forts, and the British officers were soon occupied with pig-sticking and tiger shoots.

Napier established a Canal Department and continued to maintain and modernize the irrigation system which had been built under the Kalhoras and improved and expanded under the Talpurs. He dreamed of turning the fierce Baloch tribesmen into peaceful farmers.

The stabilization of British rule over the areas occupied by Baloch tribes took the next half-century. In 1845, Napier conducted a campaign against the Bugtis, but the expedition was only partially successful. Official British policy was to maintain the power of the Khan of Kalat, but John Jacobs, the local military commander in Upper Sindh, immediately began to put down tribal incursions along the northern borders of Sindh.

General Charles Napier was constantly worried about unrest in the army. He felt that the living conditions of the common soldiers, both native and European (often Irish or Scotch), were extremely unsatisfactory, especially when compared to the very luxurious lifestyles of the (often very young and inexperienced) European officers. The conditions of the native soldiers were even worse than the European soldiers', and Napier thought that this double discrimination must be a source of great resentment.

First Sikh War, 1845-6

Kharak Singh, the eldest son of Ranjit Singh, was in bad health and was addicted to opium. No one was surprised at his death in 1841, but when Nau Nihal Singh was killed by a collapsing arch while returning from his father's funeral, the Lahore court fell into confusion from which it never recovered. Rivalry broke out among the ministers, who could not agree upon a new ruler. Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, was elected head of state, but Chand Khaur, widow of Kharak Singh, and mother of Nau Nihal, tried to assume power.

This led to an assault upon Lahore by the army, in defense of Sher Singh. The European advisers and many of the officers were driven out, and for several years a violent power struggle was waged among the surviving members of Ranjit Singh's family, various government officers and the army military committees, or *Panchayats*, which were becoming more and more powerful. Soon Duleep Singh, the five year old son of one of Ranjit Singh's widows, was the only symbol of Sikh unity.

The English, meanwhile, were watching the increasingly anarchical situation in the Sikh kingdom and were massing their troops along the border. During 1844, they more than doubled these forces from 17,612 to 40,423. The members of the Lahore ruling clique, led by the queen mother, were anxious to weaken the Sikh army. They tried to utilize the army's anti-English sentiments and its lack of respect for the British after the Afghans' successful revolt. They encouraged the Sikh army to make a pre-emptive strike against the British.

The Sikh Prime Minister sent a message to the British before the Sikh army took the offensive in December 1845. 30,000 troops crossed the Sutlej, and advanced towards Ferozepur, where the British garrison was badly undermanned. Because the Sikh Prime Minister ordered the troops to bypass Ferozepur as not worth the bother, the first battle was fought at Mudke. It was considered a victory for the British, although many of their sepoys had run away and some had even fired into their own troops. Casualties were heavy on both sides.

The Sikhs pulled back to Ferozeshah, six miles from Ferozepur. The battle of Ferozeshah, on 21 December 1845, was one of the bloodiest since the British had arrived in the subcontinent. The troops were without water, and were reduced to licking the early morning dew from their gun barrels. Nevertheless, the British drove the Sikhs back across the Sutlej.

The next day a fresh Sikh army appeared, led by its Commander-in-Chief, only to withdraw. A month later, the British took a severe beating, and lost their camel baggage train, but the following week, a Sikh attack on Aliwal was smashed and the Sikhs were once more driven back across the Sutlej.

The decisive battle of the First Sikh War was at Sabraon on the British side of the Sutlej River. The Sikh Prime Minister had provided the British with a map of the Sikh's entrenchments, and when the Sikhs tried to cross a bridge of boats to regroup, they found that their Commander-in-Chief had sunk the centre boat. Many Sikhs were butchered and their main army was destroyed.

Since there were still small Sikḥ armies at Peshawar and Amritsar, the British contented themselves with annexing only the Jullundur Doab on the east bank of the Sutlej. They hoped that by reducing the power of the army, they could turn the Sikh Kingdom into a dependency. The British troops occupied Lahore in February 1846, and a treaty was signed in March.

The Sikh army was henceforth limited to 20,000 infantry troops and 12,000 members of the cavalry. An indemnity was paid. The treacherous Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief kept their positions. The British recognized Duleep Singh as Maharaja and his mother as Regent. A Council of Viceregency was established at Lahore, with Henry Lawrence (after whom Lawrencepur is named) 'in peaceful viceregal authority over the prince.' The Sikhs had not yet been crushed, but they had been humiliated and disregarded by the British.

In British eyes, this was the 'Golden Age of the Punjab System' (1846–8). During this period, Punjab was governed by a group of remarkable Englishmen. British military officers were seconded to help the Sikhs govern the Frontier area. The widow of one of them remembered later, 'Henry Lawrence would send us off to great distances; Edwardes (her husband) to Bannu, Nicholson to Rawalpindi and then Peshawar, Abbot to Hazara, Lumsden to somewhere else, etc., giving us no more helpful directions than these: "Settle the country; make the people happy and take care there are no rows."'

Henry Lawrence's younger brother, James, was sent to Peshawar, Lumsden to deal with the Yusufzais, and Taylor to the Derajat. 1848, found Herbert Edwardes, as his wife mentioned, tax collecting at Bannu. (By 'settle the country', the British meant the setting and collecting of taxes!) After 1846, Gilgit recognized British suzerainty, but the British had minimal influence there.

Kashmir

The British sold Kashmir to the Dogra of Jammu, who had deserted the Sikh cause at Sabraon. The people of Kashmir did not approve of this sale, and within the year, Henry Lawrence was using Sikh troops to crush a revolt there. The Sikh Prime Minister was tried and exiled for inciting the Kashmiris to resist. The Hazara District was attached to Kashmir, but the Dogra, Gulab Singh, was soon begging the British to trade that unruly area for the Jammu-Jhelum belt.

James Abbot became the first Deputy Commissioner of Hazara in May, 1847. Kaka Abbot, as the people called him, soon became popular for being so unlike the hated Sikh rulers. There are still stories of him leading prayers in the mosque, with a long white beard and flowing robes.

The queen mother was then suspected of conspiring with other Sikh chiefs. The British used this as an excuse to cancel the Treaty of Lahore, while promising to evacuate the Punjab by 1849. The queen mother was deprived of all power, but her influence over the ten year old Maharaja was seen when he refused to honour the Sikh Commander-in-Chief, who remained a puppet of the British. From then on, the British were looking for an excuse to annex the Sikh Kingdom.

Second Sikh War (1848-9)

Multan Uprising, April 1848

Because Henry Lawrence had abolished custom duties on river-borne goods, Mul Raj, Sultan of Multan, was unable to meet a new British tax demand. When his Sikh replacement was escorted to Multan, two high ranking British officers were killed. The Governor of Multan expected to be blamed for the murder, so he rebelled. This sparked a rebellion of the army and the populace and led to the Second Sikh War (1848–9). Herbert Edwardes galloped the sixty miles from Bahawalpur to Multan in twenty-four hours in scorching June weather. He and the local levies drove Mul Raj into the citadel but were unable to retake Multan or stop the spread of the revolt.

Some Muslim groups sided with the British against the Sikhs. These included the Baloch tribes of the Derajat, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Niazis and others. The British officers who had been stationed as advisers in the Punjab and Frontier now found themselves isolated in Sikh territory. Most of them avoided capture by the Sikhs and helped the Muslims of their localities rebel against Sikh rule. John Nicholson dashed about with a group of Pathan tribesmen harrassing the Sikh forces at Attock and the Margalla Pass.

In September, a large Sikh force sent by the British from Lahore under Sher Singh went over to the rebels. Sher Singh was the commander of Peshawar and the Khyber Pass. When he decided to join Multan, the British were forced to evacuate Peshawar. There was now a national revolt. Forced by popular demand, Dost Mohammed, ruler of Kabul, joined one former enemy, the Sikhs, to fight another, the British.

Zam-Zama, the canon cast in 1760 by the Afghan Durranis for use in the Third Battle of Panipat, was used again by the British in the siege of Multan, but it was damaged after firing only two rounds. (It can now be seen in front of the Lahore Museum.)

On 10 October the *Dal Khalsa* of the Sikhs formally declared war on the British Empire. Lord Gough suffered a defeat at Ramnagar in November and the British forces were nearly defeated again in December. In January 1849, word came that Attock had also fallen to the rebels. The Afghans occupied Bannu and Peshawar.

The British were determined to keep the Attock rebels from joining the main Punjabi army at Lahore. The British met the rebel troops at Chillianwala near the Jhelum River, and won though at great cost. More than two thousand four hundred British-led Indian troops lay dead.

After the two inconclusive and costly battles of Ramnagar and Chillianwala, Napier was sent to replace Gough, but before he could take over, Gough redeemed himself outside the walls of Gujrat, where the Sikh army was almost totally destroyed on 21 February, 1849. The Sikh forces tried to flee through the Margalla Pass but Abbot and the Mishwani Pathan tribesmen from Hazara blocked their retreat and forced the Sikhs to formally surrender to the pursuing British cavalry at Mankiyala on the plains near Rawalpindi at the end of March 1849.

Dalhousie decided to annex the defeated lands, and the Kingdom of Punjab became a portion of the British Empire on 29 March 1849 at a durbar in Lahore. The Punjab was saddled with another indemnity. The Koh-i-Noor diamond was sent to Queen Victoria in England, along with the teen-aged Maharaja, Duleep Singh.

'She has no more right to that diamond than I have to Windsor Castle,' said the young Maharaja, but he quickly became a great favourite of Queen Victoria, who enjoyed sketching him with her children dressed up in Punjabi clothes. The Queen, in turn, was anxious for Duleep Singh to dress warmly in chilly England, but the Maharaja excused himself. 'Indeed, Ma'am, I cannot bear the feel of flannel next to my skin. It makes me scratch and you would not like to see me scratching in your presence.'

Duleep Singh had secretly converted to Christianity while under the guardianship of Henry Lawrence in Punjab. He became an English country gentleman and is buried with his English wife in the churchyard at Elveden Village near Thetford, Suffolk.

Punjab School

Punjab was administered with great skill and energy for the next eight years. It was partitioned into divisions and districts, each with a

commissioner and a deputy commissioner. The deputy commissioner combined the functions of collector, magistrate and judge. Authority was concentrated in one pioneer official for reasons of economy and efficiency.

Dalhousie, who became Governor-General three months before the outbreak of the Second Sikh War, was a westernizer and a modernizer, as were the Lawrence brothers, and Robert Montgomery. The elder Lawrence brother, Henry, believed in working with the local chiefs and the aristocracy for reform from within, but the others had little patience for the traditional community leaders and wanted to impose modern practices quickly.

In 1851, the two brothers decided that they could no longer work together, and Dalhousie sent Henry to Rajputana, making John Lawrence Chief Commissioner of Punjab. John Lawrence and his men came to be known as the Punjab School, and were eulogized in stories and verse by Rudyard Kipling.

The Utilitarians, who were now influential both in England and in the subcontinent, believed that governments should work for the good of the people, but if necessary, in an autocratic, forceful way. The officers in Punjab added their strong belief in Christianity to Utilitarian attitudes to arrive at the paternalistic, or rather patriarchal attitudes of the Punjab School. According to John Lawrence,

> We have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India. In doing the best we can for the people we are bound by our conscience, and not by theirs.

Naturally, not every resident of the Northwest Frontier or Punjab appreciated this attitude.

The British in the Frontier

The British now assumed direct authority over the Frontier, under the Punjab Commission, but its boundaries were vague. The people of the present-day tribal areas were left to remain independent or to maintain allegiance to Kabul. In early 1849, the Afghans had briefly occupied Bannu and Peshawar while the Sikhs and British were busy fighting in Punjab, but they withdrew after their ruler, Dost Mohammed, barely escaped with his life from the battle at Gujrat.

The British had earlier been allied with the Sikhs and had once conquered Kabul, so they were hated in the Frontier just slightly less than the Sikhs themselves. The hill tribes remained intractable. The tribesmen needed only a bit of encouragement from Kabul to take advantage of every opportunity for loot and plunder.

Sithana, which had sheltered the followers of Ahmed Shah Barelvi, remained a centre of anti-British struggle. In 1851, the Wahhabi peasants rose up against Hindu and Muslim landlords as well as against the British. When the Gujars of Kaghan complained about their Sayyid landlords, Abbot marched north with Colonel Mackeson, Commissioner of Peshawar, and the Sayyids were moved south to the Pakhli Plain.

But then Abbot and Mackeson clashed over which to build first: outposts or roads. Abbot was sent away from the hills he loved to Bengal. Edwardes was the next District Commissioner of Hazara, and his first act there was to build a cantonment and call it Abbotabad. Hazara was merged with Punjab.

Between 1850 and 1857 the British had to send sixteen expeditions to pacify the Frontier, using an aggregate of 33,000 regular troops. The British resorted to burn and scuttle techniques, and even plowed fields with salt, but these efforts only increased the tribes' desire for revenge.

Edwardes is known for developing the policy of collective responsibility whereby a whole village or entire tribe was held responsible, and punished for one man's act. It was Edwardes, however, who put out feelers for re-establishing diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. This led to a meeting in Peshawar in March 1855 with Dost Mohammed's son.

One of the British Empire's most fortuitous moves at this time was to come to the support of Dost Mohammed, when the Afghan city of Herat was occupied by the Persians. The Company sent a force to the Persian Gulf. The Persians evacuated Herat in 1856 and the new Afghan-British alliance was secure. Dost Mohammed himself came to Peshawar in 1857. Treaties were signed, and Kabul was awarded a subsidy to be used to defend Herat against the Persians. This was an anti-Russian move at the onset of the Crimean War. But it helped to guarantee Dost Mohammed's neutrality during the troubles to come, and saved the British from a re-enactment of Nadir Shah's or Ahmed Shah Abdali's invasions in their moment of weakness.

Sindh and Balochistan

The British also resorted to stern measures to enforce their rule in Sindh. In 1847, John Jacobs settled some of the Bugti tribesmen on irrigated lands in Sindh, but many of them afterwards fled back to their native hills. Charles Napier and John Jacobs both set a price on rebel heads. John Jacobs believed that taking the offensive was the best defence against unruly Sindhi and Baloch tribesmen. By 1848, John Jacobs had developed his system of mobile defence.

Jacobs argued that unless the British could 'afford to build a wall from end to end' on the Sindh border, defensive outposts were of no use in the protection and expansion of the cultivated area. He destroyed the defensive works and instead kept his troops on the offensive, striking terror into the hill country which officially belonged to the Khan of Kalat. 'The loss of life has been terrific,' wrote Jacobs after a raid, 'but it is satisfactory to know that the slain men were robbers and murderers.'

A treaty was signed with the Khan of Kalat in 1854 to stabilize the frontier between Sindh and the Khan's territories. The Khan was given a subsidy, part of which was to be distributed to the Marris, Bugtis and other tribes so that merchants would not be plundered and only agreed tolls collected. The behaviour of the tribes however, did not change. The British are accused of having both this Khan of Kalat (Nasir Khan II, 1841–57), and his successor killed in 1857, before deciding to support Nasir's sixteen year old brother, Khudadad Khan (1857–93).

CONCLUSION: 1830–57

More than 250 years had passed since the first Englishmen had arrived in the subcontinent and had humbly petitioned the Mughal Emperor for permission to trade in his dominions. It had been a century since Clive's conquest of Bengal, and the borders of the British Indian Empire now extended from the Khyber Pass to the Burmese coast.

The British had grown not only smug and superior, but righteous. After 1820, many Company officers and their families were evangelical Christians. The frequency of early deaths in the subcontinent made the English consider the land their enemy and left them prey to bouts of hysteria. This was especially true of the women, who did not have enough to do beyond complaining about their servants, or enough to occupy their minds except rumours and gossip.

The men concentrated on their sense of duty and came to feel that they were in the subcontinent on a civilizing mission, doing the work of God. Their sense of contempt and their sense of security led them to dispense with all pretence of respect for the local aristocracy, or for the traditions and customs of the people.

Part IV
The Struggle for Independence

29

The Great Revolt, 1848-62

Dalhousie, Governor-General, 1848-56

Dalhousie was a young man of short stature, short temper, and ill health but of gigantic mental energy, arrogance and will power. He never doubted that the western, modern way of doing anything was always superior, or that the people of the subcontinent were always much better off under direct British rule.

Annexations Increase Discontent in Armed Forces

Among the people who were most affected by the growing British smugness were the Indian troops, who were divided into three main armies, with headquarters in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The Madras army had not mutinied since their 1806 uprising (against the wearing of leather hats forbidden to their Hindu caste) had been put down with great severity, but between 1843 and 1856 there had been four mutinies in the Bengal army.

During the 1840s, problems revolved around sending troops to the newly-annexed Sindh and Punjab. The high caste Hindu troops did not want to be sent west of the Indus River, since crossing this border traditionally caused a loss of caste. In any case, they felt that they should receive overseas allowance, because it was so far away from their homes and because they were usually transported from Bombay in ships. As more and more areas were formally annexed, the soldiers lost their foreign campaign allowances for serving in those places. These allowances were meant to support a soldier's family at home while he was off fighting.

The Second Burmese War, in 1852, led to the acquisition of Pegu or Lower Burma, and to another refusal by an Indian regiment to cross the sea. (This time the regiment was simply marched off to a different station.)

The Bengal army had a large number of high caste Hindu troops. Some were Rajputs and about a third of the troops were from Oudh, many of them being Brahmins. The Indian troops were professional soldiers, and proud of their conquests, during which many lives had been lost. Now it seemed that their successes were resulting in more hardships and humiliations than benefits. Where would the British stop?

Dalhousie's Modernization Efforts, 1848-56

Dalhousie's efforts at modernizing the subcontinent were not all negative, and were often centred on the present-day Pakistan area, because of the energetic and like-minded administrators there under John Lawrence in Punjab and the Frontier, and Bartle Frere in Sindh and Balochistan.

In Punjab, the canal which had been built by the Mughals to connect the Upper Ravi to Lahore, and then extended by the Sikhs to include Amritsar, was now incorporated into the British Upper Bari Doab Canal. Construction was started soon after the annexation to provide peaceful employment for the people and irrigation waters for the disbanded Sikh soldiers. It was formally opened in 1859, but continued to be improved for the next thirty years.

In Sindh, canals were important for navigation as well as for providing irrigation water, and peaceful employment. The Begari Canal, built by the Amirs of Sindh, was widened and deepened in 1855. Various steamship companies were encouraged by the British administration to provide regular transport on the rivers and between Karachi and Bombay. John Jacobs, who had earlier served under Napier in Sindh, continued his work as a cavalry leader, engineer and civil administrater all rolled into one, employing the local people to build roads, bridges, canals and the city of Jacobabad.

Dalhousie had the Grand Trunk Road paved from Calcutta to Peshawar. During his administration, 200 miles of railroad lines were laid. The Scinde Railway Company, established in 1855, laid the first railway tracks in the subcontinent. In 1858, Bartle Frere broke the ground for the construction of two short lines going from the Karachi Cantonment Station to Keamari and Gizri Bandar. The 110-mile long line linking Karachi to Kotri, near Hyderabad Sindh, was finished in 1861.

Bartle Frere, Commissioner of Sindh from 1850 to 1859, designed the first postage stamp in the subcontinent along with Mr Coffey, his Postmaster. Foot-runners continued to deliver messages to branch posts, but were replaced by *Qasids* mounted on horses and camels along the main Karachi-Hyderabad-Multan route. (Pakistan still has one of the better postal systems in the world.) Dalhousie reformed the all-India postal system, and introduced the telegraph which extended from Calcutta to Lahore and Peshawar by 1857.

Dalhousie also took an interest in education, particularly in technical training. He set up the first engineering college in the subcontinent.

Doctrine of Lapse

Now that the British Indian Empire had grown to fill the entire subcontinent, Dalhousie turned his expansionist energies towards its interior. He regarded the princely states as outdated anachronisms, and looked for every possible excuse to bring them under direct British rule.

One excuse for annexing the princely states was the Doctrine of Lapse. This Doctrine stated that if a local ruler did not have a natural heir, the British government would no longer feel obliged to recognize adopted heirs. Power would then lapse to the British at the ruler's death, in spite of the time-honoured traditions of the subcontinent wherein adopted sons were allowed to inherit property. On these grounds six small states, including Jhansi, and one larger state, Nagpur, were annexed between 1848 and 1854.

Annexation of Oudh—Doctrine of Paramountcy

Another excuse for annexation was misgovernment. Oudh was deemed to be misgoverned, and was annexed by Dalhousie in 1856. This annexation was a source of anguish for the Bengal army, a third of which came from Oudh. Not only did it offend the sepoys' sense of regional loyalty and their nationalpride as natives of an independent and once-important state, but they also lost certain privileges and benefits when Oudh became part of the Home Territories, and their pay was considerably diminished.

Titles and Pensions

In the past, when taking over states, the British government had continued to honour the titles of former rulers, and had allowed them and their heirs to receive state pensions. Dalhousie considered these titles and pensions outdated, and tried to abolish them whenever possible. The titles of the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Raja of Tanjore and the Peshwa of the Marathas were all abolished. He also wanted to do away with the title and pension of the Mughal emperor, but the London authorities overruled him.

Re-examination of Land Deeds

As mentioned in relation to Punjab, Dalhousie had no patience with landlords. He ordered their title deeds re-examined, and if the British officials were not satisfied that a landlord's deed was proper, the state expropriated his lands. Some twenty thousand estates were confiscated in the Deccan alone, and in 1856, the title deeds in Oudh were being re-examined.

'I don't deny that I detest the country and many of the people in it,' wrote Dalhousie to a friend in England. 'I don't proclaim it; but I don't doubt that my face does not conceal it from those I have to do with.' It is not surprising that the subcontinent's aristocracy, and its armed forces began to have as little love for the British Raj as its Governor-General had for them.

Lord Canning, 1856-62

In February 1856, Dalhousie was replaced by Lord John Canning, who was known for his detached calm. Some of Canning's policies, however, helped to precipitate the Revolt. In 1856, the British announced that soldiers would be expected to serve wherever needed in the Empire. This was to prevent any more refusals to man the garrison in Burma. In the same year, another act was passed permitting Hindu widows to remarry, and the local Press reminded readers of Dalhousie's act, passed in 1850, which permitted converts to Christianity to inherit property. All these measures seemed to comprise an attack on orthodox Hinduism.

The Greased Cartridges

In January 1857, some soldiers at Dum Dum refused to use the cartridges which had been issued to them for the new Enfield rifle. The sepoys had been instructed to bite the tips of the cartridges before inserting them into their rifles. The Muslims thought the cartridges tasted of prohibited pig fat and to the Hindus they smelled of sacred cow grease. Soon, all across northern India troops were being lined up, surrounded by British-manned artillery, and ordered to bite the bullet.

When they refused, they were stripped of their insignia and dismissed, without pay or pension, to walk home to their villages, often in Oudh or in the newly annexed Muslim and Maratha princely states. At first the British lied, denying that the cartridges were greased with animal fat. Later, they allowed the soldiers to supply their own grease and took back the order to bite the cartridges.

But there was now unrest in the native infantries throughout northern India. Mysterious fires broke out. Some units mutinied and others were disbanded. There was general unrest in Oudh, because of the British-ordered examination of landholdings. Henry Lawrence was sent to restore order. He took up Residency at Lucknow in March.

Causes of the Revolt

The first point to remember is that there was constant resistance to British imperialism ever since the British first decided to seize territory in 1685. Sometimes this resistance was in the form of struggles by local rulers to maintain their independence or to oust the foreigners. Sometimes it was in the form of mob action. There were also a number of sepoy mutinies. The Great Revolt was simply a conglomeration of all of these types of resistance.

It is not necessary to ask why people would want to struggle against foreign domination. It is only necessary to ask why each particular uprising did not spread further, both vertically, to different sections of the population, and horizontally, to different parts of the subcontinent. Because the 1857 uprising of the sepoys came at a time when many people were highly dissatisfied with the political and economic policies of the East India Company, it spread and turned into a popular revolt.

One of the root causes of the Revolt was the brutal economic exploitation of the people by the Company. Although the Company had captured political power, first in Bengal and eventually in the whole of the subcontinent, it continued to function as a business concern in accordance with the principle of getting maximum goods or labour for minimum payment.

Even before the capture of political power, the European merchants often combined trade with piracy. Now that the merchants were the rulers of the subcontinent, they were favourably placed in relation to the individual producer, whether weaver or peasant, to dictate terms to their advantage.

Lord Dalhousie's policy of conquest and annexation of princely territories through the application of the doctrines of lapse and paramountcy had made the feudal aristocracy hostile to the Company. The Revolt was led particularly by the princes who were deposed or whose territories were annexed to the Company's dominion by Dalhousie.

Certain laws, regulations and procedures enacted by the Company were in conflict with the traditions and mores of the people. The Company's government did not bother to learn the people's ways, their condition and their afflictions. The Company officials' active help to missionaries in their work to convert the people to Christianity was a cause of great dissatisfaction.

The Muslims were particularly disturbed when Arabic and Persian were completely excluded as subjects of teaching in schools. The Hindus did not like common cooking arrangements for prisoners of all religions and castes, because it was against their caste system. The laws prohibiting *sati* and permitting Hindu widows to remarry were seen as attacks on the Hindu religion. The Enfield rifle's cartridges, smeared with animal fat, became a symbol of British insensitivity.

The servants and agents of the Company were primarily engaged in economic exploitation of the people. They often paid little attention to efficient management and administration. Even the army was inefficiently managed. English officers made a show of racial superiority, and humiliated the so-called native soldiers. Because of the Crimean War in Europe, many experienced British officers were transferred there and the requirement of studying local languages was dropped for new recruits.

Revolt

On May 10 1857, the troops at Meerut rose in revolt while their British officers where at church. The mutineers freed the eighty-five soldiers who had been imprisoned for refusing to load the Enfield rifle. They killed several officers and marched thirty miles south to Delhi, where they were joined by the Indian troops there.

The bewildered eighty-two year old Emperor, Bahadur Shah II, was induced to call for a restoration of Mughal rule. By late May, there were widespread outbreaks in the area around Delhi, throughout East Punjab, and even in Bombay. Because of the Crimean and Persian Wars, there were very few European troops between Meerut and Bengal. The British decided that the native troops should be disarmed in many places including Lucknow, Agra, Lahore, Peshawar and Mardan.

The Revolt in the Pakistan Area

On 13 May, 3,800 Indian troops were disarmed at Lahore. During the heat of summer they were kept under guard by 400 Europeans and by Sikh troops. The Sikh soldiers had just been beaten in two wars by British-led Indian troops. They had no particular sympathy for either the mostly Hindu sepoys, or for the Mughal emperor in whose name they fought.

The people of Punjab remained quiet, waiting to see which side would gain the upper hand. Some, like the Niazis, who had fought on the side of the British against the Sikhs, now refused to enlist during the Great Revolt.

The sepoys' mail was opened and it was discovered that the troops were in correspondence with Sayyid Ahmed Barelvi's followers in Swat and Sithana, and that Sithana was in touch with the rebels in Bengal. The British marched the Bengal Native Infantry to the edge of the tribal area as if they were expecting an attack.

The Corp of Guides, meanwhile, was sent south to join the British in the Delhi area. When Edwardes and Nicholson attempted to raise levies to replace those troops sent south, no one wanted to enlist; this alarmed the officials in Calcutta, who were in telegraphic communication with Peshawar.

After a few weeks of tension, the Indian soldiers at Nowshera and Mardan refused to obey orders. The Nowshera troops were marched to Peshawar where they were disarmed without violence. The Mardan

troops were also disarmed against the wishes of their British officers, and the troops fled.

Some of the disgusted British officers flung their swords and spurs upon the piles of muskets and sabres. One burst into tears, and one British colonel blew out his brains in despair over the affair. Two of the deserting Mardan sepoys were captured in the Hazara District a few weeks later. On 13 June, they were blown from the mouths of guns before a large assembly.

The main body of the Mardan troops, about 600 men, fled to Swat, pursued by Nicholson who remained in the saddle for twenty hours without a change of horse. The Akhund of Swat gave the sepoys shelter and aid for one month but then was pressured to evict them. They crossed the Indus on rafts and inflated skins. The hill tribes of Mansehra allied themselves with the District Commissioner of Hazara, and they were reduced to less than two hundred.

The Mardan troops then surrendered to the British in the Kaghan Valley a few miles south of Lake Lulusar. They were almost all executed. More than forty sepoys were blown from canons in ceremonies throughout Hazara. About a dozen more were killed by hanging. (The Purbi Nar Katha at Besal in the Kaghan Valley commemorates the mutineers.) The British were then so sure of Hazara's loyalty that they left only 341 infantrymen in Abbotabad.

The Afridis held *jirgas* to discuss the situation but refrained from taking action. Once the Indian troops had been successfully disarmed, recruitment was heavy again. Several of the disarmed sepoys tried to escape from Peshawar, and some of them tried to grab guns from the new recruits.

They were pursued by the police, by British troops and by tribesmen who had been offered a ransom of rupees thirty a head. One of the captured sepoys snatched a sword, cut down his captor, and lunged at a British officer before being shot. A British officer described the subsequent execution of around 200 Indian troops.

> I will say this for the wretches, they took it all in the most unconcerned way possible—marching steadily—halting—fronting opposite our firing parties—just as if they were only at drill.

The officers in the Frontier now felt secure enough to send more men and supplies south to the relief of the embattled British in Delhi. John Lawrence considered asking Dost Mohammed to occupy Peshawar while all the Europeans went to the relief of Delhi, but

Edwardes, the Commander of Peshawar, and Lt. Col. Nicholson thought that this would be too damaging to British prestige. Lord Canning agreed, and used the new telegraph line to wire the order, 'Hold Peshawar at all cost!' Now the British officers placed pistols besides their plates at meals and on the pews in front of them at church.

Elsewhere in the northern subcontinent, the mutineers had the upper hand, and most Europeans had fled or been killed. By the end of May, Oudh was the scene of a national uprising. In Lucknow, Oudh's capital, the European residents were under siege from early June. In Kanpur, home of the adopted son and unrecognized heir of the last Maratha Peshwa, Nana Sahib, the Europeans were also under siege.

Mutinies occurred that July in Sialkot and Jhelum, among other places. The families of the British officers took refuge in the church when the Revolt spread to Jhelum in early July. On 17 July British forces recaptured Kanpur but they arrived one day too late to save the lives of the European residents. Almost 400 men, women, and children had been shot to death after climbing into boats for a promised safe passage down the river.

Indian units were disarmed at Rawalpindi, and their suspected leaders were executed. The Sialkot mutineers were defeated by John Nicholson at Trimmu Ghat.

Lahore

On 30 July there was a violent dust storm in Lahore, where the 26th Native Infantry had been under guard for almost three months. A fanatic, Prakash Singh, emerged from his hut brandishing a sword and calling on everyone to rise and kill the *feringhees.* He cut down the Commander, a Major Spencer.

Most of the panic-stricken troops fled. The few who remained were killed in a furious cannonade on their lines by the Sikhs and the Europeans. The next day, the deserters attempted to cross the Ravi River, which was in flood. They were opposed by the police, pursued from Amritsar, and shot at by the villagers. Many were wounded and drowned in the river. Most fled upstream, and swam or floated on pieces of wood to an island.

When the Commander from Amritsar arrived at the island, the wet, exhausted and terrified deserters surrendered to the British, expecting to be court martialled. Almost three hundred men allowed themselves to be bound and ferried to a local police station by boat.

The camp followers were left for the villagers to deal with, while the Commander waited for the rain to clear, and for Sikh reinforcements to arrive. The Muslim troops were given leave to celebrate Baqra Eid in Amritsar, because the British commander was not certain that their loyalty would survive his action.

Then the prisoners were shot in batches of ten. When 237 had been executed, it was found that 45 more had died in the lock-up of fright, exhaustion, heat, and partial suffocation. All the dead and dying were thrown into a deep dry well.

Later, the British became embarrassed by this atrocity, but at the time it was praised by John Lawrence from the Frontier, and by Robert Montgomery, who requested a few prisoners be handed to him to be used as examples in Lahore. One wounded sepoy and forty-one stragglers from the countryside were accordingly rounded up and sent to the city where they were blown to pieces from canons. Within forty-eight hours of the death of Major Spencer and one other Englishman, nearly 500 men had died.

The Revolt continued to spread in August, and a British attempt to relieve Lucknow failed. But on 14 September an outbreak was forestalled in Karachi.

Delhi Retaken

John Nicholson dashed to Delhi, where he led its recapture from 14 to 20 September in six days of desperate street fighting. Nicholson was mortally wounded during his assault on Delhi's Kashmir Gate and was carried back to camp by a member of the Hayat family, where he died at the age of thiry-four. The citizens of Delhi now had to suffer from the victors' rage.

Lucknow was only temporarily retaken, and October saw more troubles. In November, Lucknow was relieved by Colin Campbell (after whom Campbellpur is named). The Europeans were evacuated. The British suffered a defeat outside Kanpur, and their line of retreat from Lucknow was threatened, but by now reinforcements were arriving from overseas.

Defeat

In December 1857, at the decisive Battle of Kanpur, the nephew of Nana Sahib and of Tantia Topi was routed by Campbell. The British

campaigned in the Ganges Doab. Nana Sahib disappeared into the jungles bordering Nepal. Entire villages were burnt down by the British in reprisal for the massacre at Kanpur. The mopping-up operations continued throughout 1858.

When the Rani of Jhansi died fighting at Gwalior, the rebels lost, in the words of the British regimental history, 'their bravest and best military leader.' Sir Hugh Rose, Commander of the troops which defeated her, wrote, 'The Ranee was remarkable for her bravery, cleverness and perseverance; her generosity to her subordinates was unbounded. These qualities, combined with her rank, rendered her the most dangerous of all the rebel leaders.'

The Rani had been a reluctant rebel, preferring to pursue the cause of her late husband's adopted son through her lawyer in London. Before the Great Revolt, she had always worn white muslin and had conducted state business seated behind a curtain. When her troops rebelled, she took command dressed in riding jodhpurs and a silk blouse. She wore a loose turban around a red silk cap, diamond bangles and diamond rings. A short bejewelled sword and two silver pistols were stuck into her cummerbund. At the Rani's death, Gwalior fell on 20 June.

On 8 July 1858, Lord Canning proclaimed peace. Nana Sahib's second in command, Tantia Topi, was captured and hanged in April 1859. The Emperor Bahadur Shah II, whose sons had been murdered by the British in cold blood, was tried and exiled to Burma, where he died five years later, at the age of eighty-seven. Now the major task of Lord Canning, John Lawrence and a few others was to restrain the violence of their own men and to gradually bring about a decrease, and finally a cessation, of punitive measures. Slowly, life returned to normal. But basic attitudes had changed forever.

The British did not completely lose confidence in the 'irresistible forces of progress,' but they ceased to expect gratitude, or even a grudging respect in return for their 'civilizing' efforts. Unfortunately, the Revolt did not win the Englishman's grudging respect for his native subjects either. The humiliation of being in physical fear of one's opponent often strengthens tendencies toward racism.

Why the Revolt Failed

Although the people made great sacrifices and waged a heroic struggle to end foreign domination, the Revolt failed for a number of reasons.

First, the Revolt was led by discontented princes, feudal rulers and big landlords. They were temporarily united to achieve the common goal of throwing the foreign rulers out, but had no positive ideas about the political and economic system that would replace foreign rule. They looked back to earlier times. Some of them wanted to restore the Mughal empire while others desired a revival of the Marathas' domination.

The feudal leadership was incapable of motivating the people with a revolutionary goal and mobilizing them for a prolonged struggle to achieve that goal. In fact, some feudal lords sided with the British and provided them with men and material to suppress the Revolt.

Secondly, there was no organization and central leadership to guide, co-ordinate and sustain the people's uprisings at various places. The last Mughal king was an old man who was not an effective leader. The rebels used him only as a symbol of unity. As there was no co-ordination, the leaders of the revolt fought alone without any planning. Each feudal leader maintained his or her own paid troops. Supplies and funds for the rebel forces were not organized on a regular basis.

The leaders either defended their besieged forts or engaged the British forces in regular battles in the open. They rarely used Shivaji's method of guerrilla warfare with the voluntary support of the people. Thirdly, the new, Westernized classes did not join the revolt, but actively supported the British.

New Policies

After analyzing the causes of the Revolt, the British rulers decided that there were lessons to be learnt and new policies to be adopted in order to avoid further trouble. In future, they would try not to interfere with the religious and social customs of the people. They would attempt to provide good government and to take steps to improve their subjects' material welfare. They would endeavour to enlist the support and co-operation of the upper classes, particularly the aristocracy and the big landlords, and they would be more sensitive to the moods and feelings of the people.

One of the basic decisions that the English colonial rulers took after the Revolt was to end the misrule of the East India Company. Although the British government in London had for some time exercised indirect control over the Governor-General, this was not very effective.

Now, responsibility to rule India was taken over by the British Government from the Company. The Governor-General of India was made directly responsible to a British Minister known as the Secretary of State for India. The Governor-General of India was now given the designation of Viceroy, as representative of the British monarch.

Lord Canning (1856-62)

It was Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India, from 1858 to 1862, who implemented the new policies of the British Government. He advised the government in London to follow a policy of conciliation in order to regain the confidence of the people, particularly the native aristocracy, princes and feudal lords. To befriend the aristocracy, Canning invited all loyal princes to the two Durbars which he held during his tenure.

The rank and titles of each prince were confirmed. Some of them were given additional decorations. The princes' right of adoption was restored and they were assured once again that the British would not annex their territories. Thus Dalhousie's policies of denying the princes' right of adoption and of gradually annexing the princely states were abandoned.

The Queen's Proclamation of 1858

Queen Victoria's Proclamation, which was read out by Canning at a Durbar in November 1858, expressed the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to promote industry and works of public utility in India and to 'administer the government for the benefit of the people'. The Queen granted unconditional pardon to all rebels except to those directly responsible for the murder of British subjects.

The Indian princes were assured that their rights, dignity and honour would be respected. They were also told that the British desired no more of their territories.

The Proclamation of 1858 was, in fact, the first constitutional reform introduced after the British Government took over direct control of India. The Revolt of 1857 and the subsequent struggles of the people, forced the colonial rulers to associate the people, gradually and indirectly, with the government.

The Queen's Proclamation promised, in addition to other things, that all persons, of whatever race or creed, would be freely and

impartially admitted into government service. However, in practice, this promise was not fulfilled. Examinations for the Indian Civil Service continued to be held in England under conditions that effectively excluded the educated people of the subcontinent.

Reorganization of the Army

After bringing the East India Company's rule to an end, the British reorganized the Army, as it was the native sepoys of the Army who had started the Revolt. The proportion of British troops in the subcontinent was greatly increased, and the high-caste element amongst the Indians was reduced.

In the Bengal army, the number of Europeans was brought at par with the Indians, and Gurkhas and Sikhs replaced Brahmins and Rajputs. As a whole in the country, the ratio of Europeans to Indians in the Army was now one to two. The artillery was manned entirely by the British.

These new policies, to reorganize the armed forces, and to conciliate local rulers, had important effects in Kalat. John Jacobs had died in 1858. (His residency in Jacobabad is still used as the Deputy Commissioner's Residence, and his marble tomb, along with the less well-preserved tombs of three or four other British officers, can be seen in the Jacobabad Cemetery.)

The new teenaged Khan of Kalat was encouraged by the British to think of himself as an independent, absolute monarch. The British helped him replace the British-led troops with a standing army, recruited heavily from the Sikhs, the Indians and the Baloch levies which had been retired in the course of the post-Revolt reorganization of the British armed forces. Just as earlier Khans of Kalat had used Persian and Afghan backing to attempt the move from tribal leader to feudal monarch, the young Khan spent the next eighteen years trying unsuccessfully, to establish his authority over the rebellious tribes of all of Balochistan.

During the early 1860s, the British were stringing the Indo-Persian Telegraph Line along the Makran coast. They made agreements with the local tribes along their path, but preferred to work through the Khan of Kalat.

The Indian Councils Act, 1861

Appeasement of the upper classes, particularly the feudal lords, was necessary, because it was with their help that the British intended to govern the country. The Indian Councils Act, 1861 added six to twelve members to the Legislative Council. These members were to be nominated by the Viceroy, and at least half of them were to be non-official members. The non-official members could be Indian. It was hoped that by including Indians in the Legislative Council, the Government would be able to find out whether the laws discussed by the Council were suitable for the people.

This was by no means a democratic measure. The Indian members nominated to the Legislative Council were not the chosen representatives of the people. They belonged to the upper classes and were carefully chosen in view of their loyalty to the British Government. The Legislative Council had no control over the Executive Council. It could not make laws, and its only function was to discuss matters that the Governor General chose to lay before it.

During his six-year rule, Canning did his best to heal the wounds caused by the Revolt and its suppression. He tried to convince the upper classes of the subcontinent that continuation of the British Raj was to their benefit.

CONCLUSION:
British rule after 1858

The transfer of responsibility from the East India Company to the British Crown brought about a basic change. The purpose of colonial administration was no longer just the exploitation of resources and manpower, as was natural for a business company. The British Crown, successor of the Company, while continuing the economic exploitation of the colony, tried in return, to provide a certain measure of efficient administration to the people and paid some attention to the development of communications, irrigation and industry.

The British Crown wanted to hold the subcontinent to the advantage of Britain's ruling classes for as long as possible. Patronage of the native aristocracy, development, efficiency and order were the keynotes of the administrative policy after the Revolt of 1857. These policies were aimed at avoiding the possibility of yet another revolt, thus ensuring political stability and better and smoother exploitation of economic resources for the colonial power. In the process of

implementing the new policies, some benefits also accrued to the people of the colony.

Railway lines, for example, were laid to transport troops and to bring local products and raw materials to the main ports of the subcontinent for export to Britain, and not to promote internal economic development. But, the necessary by-product of the developed means of communications was internal economic development—to a certain extent. Although important steps were taken to increase production and improve transportation, the benefits of these development efforts did not usually go to the common man and his family.

Production and distribution were forced to fill the needs of the colonial power, rather than those of the subcontinent. Less food was grown as more land was needed to grow cash crops like jute and cotton. Despite less cultivation of food crops, wheat and rice were exported. Therefore, famines became a regular feature of Indian life.

Because the British government was committed to an alliance with the local ruling classes, it was these people who benefited from development efforts, while peasant uprisings (which had ushered in the modern age in Europe) were successfully suppressed by the British Raj.

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British Consolidate, Muslims Adjust, 1862-80

The Muslim Response to Colonial Domination

The English at first blamed the Muslims for the Revolt of 1857 and adopted a vindictive policy towards them. The trials of the leaders of the so-called Wahhabi Conspiracy in Patna in the 1860s, and the assassination of Lord Mayo by a Muslim fuelled the popular British theory that the Muslims were bound by their religion to resist British rule.

The continued unrest in the Frontier area which, from 1858 to 1863, necessitated four British expeditions involving an aggregate of 27,000 troops also enhanced the reputation of the Muslims. British troops spent two winter months on the Ambela Pass trying to subdue 15,000 'Hindustani Fanatics' who were raiding the Peshawar Valley from their hideout in Malka, Buner.

Muslims were indiscriminately executed, and their properties and lands were confiscated. They were deprived of modern education, and of opportunities to join government service. The Muslim intelligentsia after 1857 was divided into two broad sections: those who realized the fact of foreign domination, hated it, and dreamed of fighting against it, but had no realistic plan or programme for such a struggle; and those who accepted the reality of the English imperialist rule and tried to work out a mode of survival within the new socio-political and economic framework. The *ulema*, who were not reconciled to the colonial Raj, argued that no true believer could continue to live under alien domination without earning eternal damnation.

In the meantime, a powerful Indian middle class, composed mainly of the non-Muslim sections of the population, had emerged. This new middle class began co-operating with the English, learning their

language and the sciences with the aspiration of establishing their own rule over the subcontinent in the future.

A relationship had been established between the new middle class and the English colonial rulers, while the Muslims remained aloof, immobilized and backward. The co-operation between the English rulers and the Hindus posed a threat—not to the Muslim's rule, which had already ended, but to their very existence.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan belonged to that class of the Muslim intelligentsia which was aware of this danger. He had a deeper understanding of the realities of the new situation after 1857. He was convinced that continued confrontation with the English rulers was not in the interest of the Muslims. He wanted the Muslims to accept the reality of English rule, even as the Hindus had done, and to work within the structure of the new order.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was born in Delhi on 17 October 1817. His family was connected to the Mughal palace as well as to the British. On the death of his father, who had been an honorary official at the Delhi court, Sayyid Ahmad took service with the East India Company. He eventually became an administrative judge.

During his nine years of service at Delhi, he edited a newspaper called *Sayyid-ul-Akhbar,* wrote a number of pamphlets on theology, as well as his monumental work, *Asar-us-Sanadid*, and prepared a collated edition of *Ain-i-Akbari,* the history of the reign of the Emperor Akbar. When Ghalib was asked to provide an introduction for this work, he wrote a poem scolding Sayyid Ahmad; 'Worship of the past is not a useful pastime,' but Sayyid Ahmad was simply annoyed, and did not include Ghalib's poem in the book.

Right up to the Revolt, Sayyid Ahmad's interests were mainly cultural. He looked to the past and showed no anxiety about the future. Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98) was Sadr Amin of Bijnor when the Revolt broke out in 1857. He kept a detailed day-to-day diary of the course of the Revolt in his district. After the Revolt was crushed in 1858, Sayyid Ahmad wrote the history of the rebellion in the district of Bijnor.

The Revolt changed Sayyid Ahmad's ideas and widened his vision. He was now of the view that the people should accept the good things of European civilization. He worked hard to bring about a better understanding between the English rulers and the people of the

subcontinent. It was with this end in view that he wrote the Urdu pamphlet, *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind,* (Causes of the Indian Revolt), which he sent to the British government.

On the basis of his analysis of the Revolt, Sayyid Ahmad recommended the participation of the peoples of the subcontinent in political affairs, and the adoption of ways and means to know the pulse of the people. Sayyid Ahmad's memorandum was seriously studied by the India Office in London. The English government's policies and constitutional reforms, introduced from time to time after 1857, reflected his influence.

Sayyid Ahmad also wanted to open the minds of his people to European literature, science and technology. He founded the Scientific Society in 1863, for Indians and Englishmen to exchange ideas on subjects of common interest. The main purpose of the Society was to translate standard English works on various subjects into Urdu, and to use them for educating the people.

On Sayyid Ahmad's transfer to Aligarh, this city became the permanent home of the Scientific Society. The Society owned a Press and published a weekly newspaper *Aligarh Institute Gazette* which carried the motto, 'Liberty of the Press is a prominent duty of the Government and is a natural right of the subjects.' The publications of the Society included books in Urdu on chemistry, physics and other scientific subjects, as well as elementary and advanced works on mathematics.

Muslims elsewhere in the subcontinent were also working to revitalize intellectual life. In 1864 the Anjumun-e-Punjab was founded in Lahore. One of Sayyid Ahmad's enthusiastic supporters was the Poet Hali, who led the movement for Natural Poetry, which used to hold a monthly *mushaira*, or poetry reading in Lahore.

Lord Lawrence, 1864-9

Sir John Lawrence was the former Commissioner of Punjab. He was a strong proponent of the close border policy in relation to Afghanistan. He did not understand why he should be expected

> to throw away crores of rupees on barren mountain ridges and ever-vanishing frontier lines, while every rupee is sorely needed by a government which can hardly pay its way, and by a vast population which, living on little better than starvation-rates, cries aloud to be saved from the tax-gatherer on the one hand and from actual starvation on the other.

During his tenure as Viceroy, the Punjab and Oudh Tenancy Act was passed. Under the Act, the tenants who had held their lands for a certain period were given occupancy rights. This measure was aimed at improving the lot of the cultivators.

Lord Lawrence was not successful in providing relief to the famine-affected people of Orissa. The members of his Council did not agree to his proposal to ship food grains to the people of Orissa. They felt that the government should not interfere with the laws of supply and demand, and that it would be undignified for people to accept charity. As a result, nearly a quarter of Orissa's population died of hunger. Later on, when Rajputana too was struck by famine, Lawrence asserted his authority and carried out a relief programme for the people, saving many lives.

Lawrence paid special attention to construction of railways, irrigation, and improvement of sanitation in towns. The idea that cholera and other diseases are spread by impure drinking water was now popular in England, where there were many projects for the protection of water sources; reservoirs, pipes, etc. In Bengal, as in most of the subcontinent, the British still believed that cholera was spread through air vapours. However, a few cities in the Punjab now began paying attention to their water supplies.

The tribes in both northern and southern Balochistan continued to be unruly. Robert Sandeman was sent to Dera Ghazi Khan. (In Zhob, his former castle-like home is still used by the Political Agent there.) Sandeman tried to control the Bugtis by giving them rent-free lands in return for service in a border militia, but this drew complaints from other Baloch tribes, and from the administration in Sindh. He then extended this policy to the Marri tribesmen who had never before had direct dealings with the British. This improved the situation on the Punjab border, but the tribes continued raiding the Sindh border. The Khan, meanwhile, was busy crushing revolts in Kharan (Western Balochistan) and Las Bela.

Lord Mayo, 1869-72

Lord Mayo succeeded Lord Lawrence in 1869. He took steps to improve the economy of the country by cutting down on wasteful expenditure. In 1869, the Government imposed an income tax of one per cent, and increased it the next year. The income tax, however, was reduced in 1871 because of anti-tax propaganda in the Indian Press and protests from the richer classes.

The local governments were reorganized and made responsible for raising funds to meet their requirements under a resolution passed in 1870. Local boards, nominated and controlled by the government, were set up in the districts. These boards could administer the funds put at their disposal. Lord Mayo is remembered for carrying out the first general census in India.

Under the new system of government, some useful work was done to improve communications, sanitation and education. Lord Mayo launched a big programme of public works which included extension of roads, railways, canals and sanitation projects. Steps were taken to prospect for iron ore and coal, and an American expert was employed to help in prospecting for oil.

The achievements of Russia in extending its railway as far as Samarkand, and in subjugating the khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand, right up to the Oxus River on the northern border of Afghanistan, by 1869, motivated the British to push ahead with their rail network. In 1869, the Sindh, Punjab and Delhi Railway companies were merged, and by 1870, railway communication was established between Multan and Calcutta and Bombay.

The completion of the Suez Canal linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea in 1869, and the construction of the Red Sea Telegraph in 1870 brought Europe and the subcontinent into closer contact. This gave the Secretary of State in London even more power over affairs in the subcontinent. It also increased the importance of Karachi, which became the closest port to Europe, now that ships no longer had to steam around the continent of Africa.

A conference was held at Dera Ghazi Khan to settle the differences between the British in Punjab and the British in Sindh on how to handle the Baloch tribes. The men on the ground, Col. Phayre and Captain Sandeman, wanted to deal with tribal chiefs and consider the Khanate as a Confederacy. They were supported by the Lt. Governor of Punjab. But the Commissioner of Sindh wanted to deal with the Khan as an independent and absolute ruler, and his view prevailed for the moment.

It was decided that all payments to the Marri and Bugti tribesmen of Balochistan should go through the Khan of Kalat, in order to buttress his authority, and he was encouraged to restore order in the Las Bela area. In 1871, the Frontier Crimes Regulations were applied to the Dera Ismail and Dera Ghazi Khan areas as well as the North-west Frontier.

Lord Mayo was assassinated during an official visit to the Andaman Islands in 1872.

Lord Northbrook, 1872-6

Lord Northbrook, during his tenure as Viceroy and Governor-General, tried to boost business and industry. He abolished the unpopular income tax and encouraged industrialization. He argued that the infant textile industry in India needed protection from competition in order to grow and flourish.

Unfortunately, during Northbrook's tenure, a Conservative government took office in England. When the Secretary of State proposed the abolition of import duties on English cotton textiles imported into the subcontinent, Northbrook argued that this would reduce the price of English cloth in India when the Indian textile industry was not in a position to compete with the refined British goods. Northbrook was, however, overruled by the Secretary of State and the import duty on English textiles was reduced from five to three and a half per cent. In 1873, Bengal and Bihar were struck by a severe famine. Northbrook took all possible measures to save the lives of the people.

In 1873, England and Russia agreed that Afghanistan would constitute a buffer zone between their two empires, and that the Oxus River would be the northern border of Afghanistan. Northbrook protested and later resigned, when the new Conservative government in England instructed him to try to have a British Resident stationed in Kabul. He predicted that this policy would 'subject us to the risk of another unnecessary and costly war in Afghanistan before many years are over.'

Muslim Revitalization, 1870-1900

Sayyid Ahmad Khan is remembered for his immense contribution to the educational advancement and modernization of the Muslims of the subcontinent. Sayyid Ahmad wanted to refute British attacks on the history of Islam. One purpose of his trip to England in 1869 was to consult books and manuscripts no longer available in the subcontinent.

He was impressed by the scientific, industrial, cultural and economic progress of the West. He paid a visit to the University of

Cambridge, and came back with a firm resolve to educate his people, to uproot social evils prevalent among the Muslims and to teach them European literature and sciences.

MAO College

He planned and established, in 1877, an educational institution on the pattern of an English Public School which was located at Aligarh and was called the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (MAO College). There was even a Union Club, where students were encouraged to discuss what things India might want to borrow from Europe and what things it should hold on to: 'for remember, gentlemen, that you have a civilization of your own.' The College provided the first platform for the Muslims of the subcontinent, and thus became the nursery of ideas that led to Pakistan.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was a socio-religious reformer. In his effort to modernize Muslim society, he furnished rational and liberal interpretations of Islamic theology. On the one hand, he defended Islam against the onslaught of Western critics and on the other hand, he tried to prove to the orthodox and conservative *ulema* among the Muslims, that Islam was in harmony with rationalism, nature and science.

Although Sayyid Ahmad disclaimed all concern with politics, most of his objectives had been determined by political exigencies as he understood them. His primary objective was to promote the overall advancement and safeguard the interests of the Muslims in the subcontinent. He brought nearer the day of the independence of the subcontinent by encouraging its second largest community to embark on the path of progress.

Sayyid Ahmad wanted the backward Muslims to pay full attention to their educational and socio-economic progress, and to abstain from practical politics. The acceptance of Sayyid Ahmad's political lead resulted in certain gains as well as losses. The Muslim middle class no doubt benefited by co-operating with the British and by remaining away from the mainstream of national politics, but this attitude prevented the political growth of the Muslims while dependence on the Government sapped their initiative.

In his later years, Sayyid Ahmad despaired of success in his efforts to establish friendly relations between the English rulers and the people. He wrote,

> In my opinion the time has not yet come, and perhaps will never come, when our European friends, conquerors of this country, and naturally full of pride of their conquest, will condescend to sit on the same bench with a conquered and naturally hated Indian...

Hopes and Disillusionment

By 1876, when Lord Lytton replaced Northbrook as Viceroy of India, significant changes had taken place in the social, religious and economic spheres which had profound effects on the political life and attitudes of the people. Western education had created not merely clerks to serve the colonial regime, but also a new class of intelligentsia armed with the knowledge of Western social and natural sciences and fired by values and ideals of democracy such as liberty, fraternity, equality and the rule of law.

They expected the European rulers to accord them social equality and to increase their share in administration. But the colonial regime's continued discrimination against the natives in the social and administrative spheres caused great disillusionment. Englishmen in the subcontinent forgot the most elementary rules of decent behaviour. The natives were not allowed into English society, restaurants and clubs. The doors to the Covenanted Civil Service also remained closed to the educated people of the subcontinent.

The Press, which had completed a century of its existence in 1880, (the first newspaper in India, *The Bengal Gazette,* was published in 1780 under the editorship of James Hicky), played an important role in making the intelligentsia aware of the state of political and economic affairs.

Lord Lytton, 1876-80

The policies pursued by Lord Lytton played a vital role in increasing discontent. He knew that changes were taking place, but he refused to attach any importance to them. He dismissed the educated natives as literary gentlemen who had no authority or power in the country. He felt that British rule should be strengthened by keeping all real power in British hands and by taking steps to reassure the aristocracy (princes and feudal lords), which had been dissatisfied with the Tenancy Acts of Lord Lawrence and others.

It was to impress and appease the aristocracy that a grand Durbar was held. Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India and

princes were awarded new banners, honours, and increased gun salutes in return for their oath of loyalty to the Queen. While the aristocracy was being entertained, thousands of people were dying of a terrible famine in the southern and western parts of the subcontinent.

Meanwhile, educated people in the subcontinent were pressing for entry into the Covenanted Civil Service, and were asking the government to fulfil its promises made in the 1833 Charter, and in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. Lytton did not want to honour these pledges, because he was of the view that it would eventually lead to the end of colonial rule.

However, in 1879, to pacify the educated class he created the Statutory Civil Service, which was to include one-sixth of the less important posts of the Covenanted Civil Service. Its posts were not filled on the basis of educational qualifications alone; the social position too was given weightage. This in effect meant that only those candidates who belonged to the loyal class of the aristocracy were given the opportunity to join the Statutory Civil Service. This measure, instead of pacifying the intelligentsia, increased its dissatisfaction.

The doors of the Covenanted Civil Service remained closed to the people of the subcontinent. Examinations continued to be held in England and in 1876, the age limit was reduced from twenty-one to nineteen, thus making it practically impossible for candidates from the subcontinent to compete.

Under a new law called The Vernacular Press Act of 1878, newspapers published in languages of the subcontinent were prohibited from publishing anything likely to create dissatisfaction with the government. English-owned and English language newspapers were exempted from the Act. This measure was resented by the middle classes. They felt that the Act was intended to curb the expression of nationalist feelings and the peoples' grievances. Another equally discriminatory measure was the Arms Act under which the natives could not possess fire-arms without licence. Europeans were excluded from the provisions of this Act.

Native businessmen and industrialists were also discontented. This class had acquired economic power as never before due to the newly developed means of communication and transportation (railways, roads and postal service), and also due to the need in Britain for new materials and subsidiary industries complementary to its major industries. But the colonial regime did not allow this class to cross a

certain limit. It imposed discriminatory taxes, and import and export duties.

In the industrial sector, only medium industry, such as textile and jute mills, made some headway. Heavy industry was not set up. Even medium industry was often discouraged. To safeguard the interests of British manufacturers, the already low import duties on English textiles were further reduced. On the other hand, high customs duties were levied on Indian exports of sugar, rice, tobacco and silk to Britain

The interests of the handloom textile producers and weavers were harmed in 1878 when the government abolished import duty on coarse cotton goods and lowered duty on the import of fine cotton textiles. This was done under pressure from the Lancashire textile producers and merchants.

The colonial regime's apathy to the common man's miserable lot was yet another factor of discontent. For example, duty on the import of textiles from Britain was abolished at a time when the administration needed funds to feed famine-stricken people.

Wealth from India was drained by various means. European officials, technicians and business executives were highly paid. They spent most of their earnings outside the country. The cost of maintaining a huge army, officered exclusively by the British, was very high. The subcontinent had to pay for expeditions (e.g. to Afghanistan, Tibet and Egypt) in which it had no interest.

Forward Policy

Lord Lytton's foreign policy, particularly in relation to Afghanistan, contributed a great deal to the dissatisfaction of the people with their foreign rulers. After the humiliating disaster of the first Afghan War, Lawrence, Mayo and Northbrook adopted the policy of masterly inactivity with regard to Afghanistan. This policy was abandoned during the tenure of Lord Lytton. Disraeli, British Prime Minister since 1874, was a firm believer in the Forward Policy to contain Russia's expansion towards Afghanistan.

Sir Robert Sandeman and Balochistan

In preparation for the war which was brewing, the agreement of 1854 with the Khan of Kalat was extended in the Treaties of 1876. Quetta

and the surrounding territory were annexed to the British Empire and thus secured as a military base for the British. By 1876, the Khan and all the Sardars accepted the British as the final arbiter of their internal disputes, and all parties had signed a treaty to that effect. To bolster the British-Baloch alliance, Lord Lytton came personally to meet the Khan of Kalat at Jacobabad, and the Khan was invited to Lytton's Grand Durbar.

After this, Robert Sandeman was allowed to establish his highly successful system of pacification in Balochistan. This involved subsidies for a variety of duties performed, such as in military levies and road construction, and close personal relations with tribal chiefs and *jirgas*. The positions of the tribal chiefs, or Sardars, were strengthened, at the expense of both the Khan, and the ordinary tribesmen. The Sardars were granted annual salaries and complete autonomy with respect to their power over their subjects but were themselves subject to British supervision. In this way Sandeman spread British administration in Balochistan.

Second Afghan War, 1878-9

Sher Ali, son of Dost Muhammed and Amir of Afghanistan, attended a conference called by the British in Peshawar in 1874, but he also continued to be in correspondence with Russia, and in 1878, when Lytton put pressure on him to accept a British envoy at Kabul, Sher Ali refused. On receipt of news that a Russian agent had arrived at Kabul, Lytton sent a British envoy. The envoy was stopped at the Afghan border.

Although the Russian envoy also departed without having established a special relationship, Lytton declared war and invaded Afghanistan on November 21, 1878. 35,000 fighting men and their camp followers entered Afghanistan through the three main passes; the Khyber, the Kurram and the Bolan.

A letter arrived from the Amir, accepting the diplomatic mission, but the British proceeded to occupy Kandahar and Jalalabad. Sher Ali fled to Turkestan. The Russian government told him to go back and make peace with the British, but he died on the way. His son, Yakub Khan, accepted the British conditions and was installed as Amir by the British.

Under the treaty of Gandamak, signed in 1879, a British Resident was placed in Kabul and the Amir undertook to conduct his foreign

policy in accordance with British advice. The districts of Pishin, Thal Chotialri, Zhob and Loralai and the Kurram Valley between Parachinar and Thal, along with the entire length of the Khyber Pass were ceded to the British for the first time. (Before this, they had been claimed by Afghanistan. Zhob Valley was actually taken over in 1891.) During 1879 and 1880, the British occupied Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul, and some referred to a line drawn through these three Afghan cities as the Scientific Frontier of the British Empire in the subcontinent.

But the Afghan people refused to tolerate the British presence in their country. Within six weeks, a popular revolt broke out. In the words of Sher Ali's nephew, 'the British Envoy looked upon himself as ruler of Afghanistan, and dictated to Yakub what he should do. This boasting was disliked by the Afghan people, and they attacked him.' The British Resident was killed by mutinous Afghan troops and a mob in September 1879.

The British government reoccupied Afghanistan and Yakub was exiled to India. Orders were given that punishment should be swift, stern, and impressive. There were indiscriminate hangings and villages were burned. By December, tribal uprisings made the British willing to negotiate with anyone but Yakub.

In July 1880 Abdur Rahman, the nephew of Sher Ali, was recognized as the new Amir. He continued to rule Afghanistan until 1901. He agreed only to the presence of a Muslim envoy for the British, and reoccupied all of Afghanistan, driving out the pro-British chief of Kandahar. Thus the Second Afghan War proved to be as unnecessary and foolhardy as the first, and the British had to re-adopt the policy of non-interference in Afghanistan.

The British also learned why almost four decades earlier, the Sindhis had been reluctant to supply the first Afghan expedition with baggage camels. It was discovered that the requisition of draught animals for the most recent Afghan adventure had seriously damaged the subcontinent's agriculture, and with it, the government's income. Lord Lytton resigned.

Pan-Islamism

Educated Muslims had always been sensitive to events throughout the Muslim world. In 1877, during the war between Russia and the Ottoman Turkish Empire, Muslim religious services were held in the

mosques of Calcutta, and donations were collected for the sick and wounded. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani is considered the founder of the Pan-Islamic movement. Soon after the Second Afghan War, he visited the subcontinent from Afghanistan, and was a contemporary of Sir Sayyid Ahmad. Jamaluddin Afghani urged all the Muslim countries to free themselves from foreign rule.

He hoped that if Muslims would strengthen themselves through a better understanding of Islam they could eventually establish a Commonwealth of Muslim Nations. Although he and Sir Sayyid agreed that Muslims should free themselves from un-Islamic superstitions and customs, Jamaluddin attacked Sir Sayyid for being over-rational in his interpretation of the Quran, and Sir Sayyid, as we know, cautioned the subcontinent's Muslims against involvement in politics.

CONCLUSION:

The Second Afghan War was extremely important to the people of Balochistan and the Frontier, since large areas now became part of the British Empire, and it caused great resentment throughout the subcontinent, particularly among Muslims. Increased expenditure on defence was resented in general. It was asked why the taxpayers of the subcontinent should pay for the imperialist wars waged by the colonial rulers against the brotherly peoples of neighbouring countries.

The period surrounding the Great Revolt (1848–1862) saw the consolidation of Sindh and Punjab into the British Empire. It was the following period (1862–1880) which saw Balochistan become an integral part of the British Empire.

British rule in Balochistan was very different from that in Sindh and Punjab. Their interest in this new region was not primarily economic. Instead it was military and geopolitical. They wanted to define the western frontiers of their Indian Empire and to establish bases from which they could extend their influence into the neighbouring countries of Iran and Afghanistan and prevent any possible French, Russian or German influence there.

They did not develop this area for agricultural production as they did the Punjab, in fact they did not even collect revenue from most of the region and instead paid salaries to Khans and Sardars. Neither were they interested in using the Balochistan coast for export, so they never developed ports like Karachi in Sindh.

The British did, however, make basic changes in the legal, political and social structures of Baloch society. The Khan of Kalat had impressive official powers over the whole Brahui Confederacy. He had nominal powers of appointment to chieftaincies and actually paid salaries to the Sardars of Jhalawan and Kacchi. Actual decision-making power, however, had been taken over by the British Political Agent.

The character of the *jirga* system was also changed. The *jirga* had been a communal court to dispense participatory justice. Now a new Shahi, or royal *jirga* was introduced on which only the Sardars and aristocrats could sit. This ended a genuine tribal tradition and gave the Sardars great power over the property, labour and womenfolk of their subjects, held in check only by the Political Agent. The Sardars, who were paid to raise levies, generally kept most of the money for themselves, sharing whatever was necessary with family members who were appointed to staff positions.

Earlier, the Sardars had tried to increase their power and wealth by extending the territory under their control. The British put a stop to this, but rather than working to increase production or improve the lot of the common tribesmen, the British gave the Sardars the means to repress any tribal resistance to the Sardars' increased repression.

The development of cantonments at Quetta, Fort Sandeman, Mach, etc., necessitated evictions creating large numbers of landless peasants. Some found unskilled employment in the cantonments. Others migrated to other parts of Balochistan or to western Sindh. It was Sindhi and Punjabi (often Hindu) merchants who most benefited from the new construction projects, military contracts and marketing opportunities. Thus we see the further impoverishment, and social and political stagnation of rural Balochistan as a result of British rule, while urban growth benefited mainly non-Balochis.

The other important development of this period was the revitalization of Muslim thought, particularly in northern India under the guidance of Sir Sayyid, but through Jamaluddin Afghani, the poet Hali, and others in the north-western part of the subcontinent as well.

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Hopes and Disillusionment, 1880-1906

Lord Ripon, (1880-4) Liberal Government

Lord Ripon took over from Lytton as Viceroy in 1880. While Lytton was a rabid imperialist, Ripon was a liberal. The new Viceroy realized the importance of the middle classes. He considered it necessary to make the educated natives friends of British rule. Ripon knew that in the long run such a policy might well lead to a demand for self-government, but he considered this to be a remote possibility for the time being. He recommended that associating responsible Indians with the government would do more to secure British rule than Lytton's policies.

Ripon's early measures raised the hopes of the middle classes. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed and laws were passed to improve conditions of labour in factories. Ripon's main reform effort was in the field of local government. He hoped to give the people of the subcontinent a greater and more effective share in power at the local level.

Although his proposals were modest, British officials opposed them. The local government reforms were not put into practice in many provinces. And it was found that the much-advertised scheme of local self-government meant no more than allowing the people to manage their own roads, drains and schools. Ripon's plans to amend the Arms Act and to impose duties on imports of English textiles were rejected by the British Government in London.

Racial antipathies were aggravated by many Englishmen's vehement opposition to the draft of the Ilbert Bill (1882), which was aimed at conferring upon Indian magistrates of a certain standing, the power of trying European criminals. Determined opposition to the proposed Ilbert Bill by the English forced Ripon to sacrifice the principle of equality before law. Under the compromise, all Europeans

(but not natives), who were tried in a district magistrate's court could claim a jury, half of which would consist of Europeans.

The success of English opposition to Ilbert's Bill made the natives realize the effectiveness of organized opposition. The repressive and discriminatory measures of the 1870s and the failure of Ripon's liberal policies led the people towards organized political struggles for their rights.

Various streams of dissatisfaction now tended to join channels of political organizations such as the British India Society and the British Indian Association which had been set up by educated persons even before 1857. But these were provincial bodies and had limited aims. In 1876, Surendranath Bannerjee organized the Indian Association, which held a National Conference at Calcutta in 1883.

Indian National Congress, 1885

Encouraged by the response to the conference, the Indian Association held a second National Conference at Calcutta in 1885. At the same time, another body, called the Indian National Congress, held its meeting in Bombay. Since both the organizations had common aims and programmes, the National Conference was merged into the Indian National Congress.

After 1884, Sayyid Ahmad Khan put a great deal of emphasis on Muslim separatism. In visualizing Hindus and Muslims parting company to put their respective houses in order, Sayyid Ahmad revealed a striking premonition of historic developments leading to the creation of Pakistan.

Sayyid Ahmad advised the Muslims to keep away from the Indian National Congress, and founded the Muhammedan Educational Conference as a Muslim alternative to the Congress in 1886. Twenty years later, the Muslim League would begin its life as an appendage of this Conference.

Sayyid Ahmad was not against representative government in principle. He supported local self-government, spoke out in favour of Indian judges trying European defendants, and worked with Bannerjee to raise the age limit for entrance to the Civil Service.

But when a Muslim became President of Congress in 1887, Sayyid Ahmad gave a very bitter speech, claiming that democracy was against the interests of the Muslim community in undivided India. He argued that Western democracy could not work in a country whose population

was permanently divided into a Hindu majority and a Muslim minority. Sir Sayyid Ahmad probably owed his knighthood to his opposition to the Indian National Congress.

A group of liberal Englishmen, led by A.O. Hume, a retired civil servant, played a leading role in the formation of the Indian National Congress. Though the Congress had representatives from all communities and provinces, its support came mainly from lawyers, journalists and teachers, together with some businessmen from Bombay and landlords from Bengal.

In its initial years, the Congress was a moderate political party. It passed resolutions in the form of requests for more Indian representation in the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils and for certain administrative reforms, such as inclusion of Indians in the ICS in larger numbers, trial by jury, and reduction of defense expenditure, salt duty and income tax.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the leader of the moderates. He believed that British rule was beneficial to a subcontinent which was too backward to govern itself. The moderates did not want freedom, at least not in the near future. They looked to Britain to train the people and to gradually grant self-government.

They believed that once the colonial rulers were convinced that the demands of the Indians were reasonable and just, they would grant them. However, petitions and resolutions forwarded to the government year after year had little effect.

Lord Dufferin (1884-8)

Lord Dufferin, who succeeded Ripon in 1884, at first encouraged the Congress. He hoped that it would act as a safety valve for the political feelings of the educated people and would keep them away from active politics. He also thought that the Congress would play a useful role in keeping the government informed about the views of the middle classes on its policies.

However, it was not long before the government changed its views. It was soon felt that acceptance of the demands of the Congress would result in weakening the government. After the fourth session of the Congress, government officials were forbidden to take part in Congress activities and its resolutions were ignored.

Tilak

The failure of the moderate policies of the Congress led to dissatisfaction in its rank and file. Gradually, a radical group under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak gained support in the Congress. To Tilak, colonial rule was a curse. He wanted freedom from foreign rule. Britain, he felt, would never allow power to pass out of her hands without a struggle and there was no use in relying on the goodwill of the government for reforms.

Tilak was radical in politics, but conservative in his socio-religious views. He was an orthodox Hindu, and he glorified the past of the Hindus and whipped up parochial prejudices. He organized an Anti-Cow-Killing Society and introduced two new festivals, Ganesh Choth (Gampati festival) and Shivaji Jayenti (birthday of Shivaji, leader of the Marathas' guerrilla war against Mughal rule during the time of Aurangzeb).

The Muslims had, by and large, kept themselves away from the Congress on Sayyid Ahmad Khan's advice. The introduction of Tilak's militant Hinduism, aimed not only against the colonial rulers but also against the Muslims, further alienated many Muslims from the Congress.

The Muslims and Politics

With the coming of Western education among the Muslims, Muslim society was broadly divided into two schools of thought. On the one hand, there were the orthodox Muslims who continued to stick to traditional religious education and rituals, and who rejected materialistic ambition and took pride in spiritualism and other-worldliness.

On the other hand, there was a miscellaneous group of Muslims who acquired Western education, accepted the new ideas and were contemptuously nicknamed the men of the new light. They attacked the old order as decadent and rigid.

However, under the influence of Sayyid Ahmad, the educated Muslims regarded politics as taboo. The aim of education for most Muslim students seemed to be to imitate the English ruling elites and to acquire jobs, preferably in the ICS.

But the times were changing. Although the Muslims had decided to keep away from politics, political developments were too far-reaching and all-encompassing to let them alone. While the Muslim

leaders were painfully conscious that the old order was changing, they hesitated to chalk out a line of action.

They erred in thinking that the colonial rulers would reward them for their loyalty. What actually happened was that politicians who made the strongest and most uncompromising speeches on the Congress platform were received by the Viceroy with deference, while the Muslims were taken for granted and relegated to the cold shade of neglect.

The Muslim leaders feared that political activity would irritate the colonial rulers and provoke deadly retaliation. This timid attitude was due to the fact that the Muslim leadership belonged to the middle class intelligentsia and landlords who were economically dependent on the government.

The two sides of this debate were exemplified by the highly sophisticated but traditionalist editors of the *Oudh Punch* on the one hand, and Maulana Hali on the other, whose *Introduction to Poetry,* published in 1893, called for the recognition of social responsibilities.

The Pakistan Area under British Rule Arya Samaj

After the Mutiny, the British rulers of the Punjab School favoured small landholders over large feudal lords when deciding disputes over land ownership. They considered feudal lords outdated, and hoped to increase government income by eliminating these middlemen and by taxing the peasant directly.

Taxes were collected in cash. The peasants sold their crops to merchants to get cash to pay their taxes. Rates of taxation were high and the peasants often had to borrow money from the merchants and moneylenders. As more and more of Punjab's crops were being exported, wheat and cotton merchants thrived.

The merchants and moneylenders tended to be Hindus from the towns, while the artisans and peasants were mainly Muslims, especially in western Punjab (some Sikhs were to be found in both groups near the present Pakistan-Indian border). The Hindu townspeople, who tended to be more educated, found employment in the government offices and as teachers, lawyers and members of other professions.

By the 1870s, there was an emerging middle class, mainly Hindu (with some Sikhs) in the Punjab. Unlike the Bengali Brahmins (whom they were replacing in the offices of Punjab), these Hindus usually

belonged to slightly lower merchant castes. The more aristocratic, high-caste Brahmins had developed an earlier intellectual movement, the Brahmo Samaj, under Ram Mohan Roy. Now these middle-class, middle-caste Hindus developed their own ideology of the Arya Samaj under Dayanand Saraswati.

They blamed the Brahmins for the decline of Hinduism and India's conquest, first by the Muslims and now by the Christians. They justified western education by claiming that all science and technology was foreshadowed in the Hindu scriptures. Therefore, they founded schools where students could acquire both Hindu and western education without having to depend upon Christian missionaries. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) secondary school was founded in Lahore in 1886, and a college three years later.

Canals

Early British efforts at repairing and extending the Mughal and Sikh canals were aimed at preventing famines and providing safe employment for disbanded Sikh soldiers. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the present-day Pakistan area took shape as an important part of the British Empire. Now the British began to invest in increasing the production in dry and sparsely settled areas of Punjab. The last decades of the nineteenth century saw the construction of the largest canal system in the subcontinent, and the foundation of the Punjab canal colonies.

The Sirhind Canal has been operational from 1882. The Lower Chenab Canal, opened in 1892, irrigated a vast area in the Jhang and Gujranwala districts. The British Deputy Commissioner of Jhang selected a site for a new city (which is now Faisalabad) and named it Lyallpur after the Lt. Governor of Punjab, Sir James Lyall. It was a planned town with eight bazaars around a clock tower, in the pattern of the British flag. The British encouraged farmers to migrate there from East Punjab.

The Nawab of Bahawalpur flourished, bringing in a European architect to design his new palace and mosque between 1875 and 1882. Khairpur was recognized as a separate state in 1882.

The Railways

The railways helped the British to send Punjab's grain to England, and also provided employment. By 1889, Pakistan's present railway system was mainly in place. After 1879, the rail connection between Karachi and Lahore (from where there were links to Amritsar, Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta) was complete, with a ferry for railway wagons at Sukkur. (The Indus Civilization site of Harappa was discovered by railway engineers building the Lahore-Multan track. The British used old bricks from the ruins to build about 100 miles of railway track embankment!)

In 1883, the British built the bridge at Attock, and after this, one could travel by rail from Karachi via Lahore and Rawalpindi to Peshawar and the Khyber Pass. The link from Karachi via Shikarpur, Jacobabad and Sibi to Quetta opened in 1887, at the same time that Pishin and Sibi were officially declared to be British territory. In 1889, the bridge across the Indus, between Rohri and Sukkur, was opened to traffic.

Now the British officials were able to do most of their travelling in the subcontinent by railway. They travelled swiftly in private railway carriages. This served to isolate them even more from personal contact with the local people.

On the other hand, the people of the subcontinent made great use of the third class coaches, and their travels increased their sense of identification with a larger geographical area than before, if not with the entire subcontinent.

The railway system promoted internal trade, reshaped the patterns of foreign trade and helped tie the subcontinent to the British economy. Before the railways, the subcontinent exported no wheat at all, but by 1886, India was supplying 23 per cent of Britain's imports of wheat. By 1899, Karachi was the biggest wheat exporting port in the East. An even larger amount of non-food crops was exported.

Britain had become both India's largest customer and the source of fully three-quarters of the subcontinent's imports. Overseas trade was carried on mainly by foreign firms, while local businessmen were generally confined to intra-regional trade. European traders were also active in production although steam machinery had still not been introduced. In Punjab for instance, in 1891, there was a woollen factory, a silk winding plant, and a sugar mill owned and managed by Europeans.

Local people, of course, were still producing fabrics (*lungees* and turbans in Peshawar, *chaddars* in Jhang, silk in Multan, shawls in Kashmir), carpets, arms and iron goods, and woodwork (in Sialkot). But by 1891, Punjab was already importing cotton cloth and piece-goods from Britain.

When the government placed an excise tax on Indian cotton goods in 1895, many businessmen considered this an effort to cripple the infant cotton industry. The Arya Samaj helped to establish *swadeshi* associations to encourage people to buy only *desi* (locally-made) cloth, and to found small industries.

The railways ended the importance of steamboat navigation on the Indus River system, but the canals continued to be essential for irrigation and for the provision of employment. By 1900, the Lower Indus network of canals, including the Jamrao Canals, was more or less complete. Road building continued. By 1900, the road system was extended up to Kaghan.

Indian Councils Act, 1892

Congress's petitions and appeals for reforms at long last evoked some response from the colonial regime in the form of the Indian Councils Act, 1892. The Act was largely concerned with the composition and powers of the legislative councils. No changes were made in the executive. The number of members in the legislative councils both at the Centre and the Provinces was slightly increased.

The Viceroy was empowered to frame rules for appointing new members. It was hoped that he would provide for elections of additional members to the Councils. The possibility of at least indirect elections was granted in principle. The electorate were to be members of municipal corporations, who were themselves elected only by local propertied rate payers.

The powers of the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils were also increased. They now had the right to discuss and criticize the budget and to ask the Executive questions on matters of public interest. These reforms had no effect in the Frontier and Balochistan, and limited effect in Punjab and Sindh. Instead, the Frontier Crimes Regulations were enforced more and more strictly.

Expedition to Hunza 1892

The early 1890s saw Britain and Russia playing the Great Game with great zest in the Pamir Mountains. A Political Agent had been stationed at Gilgit from 1876, in order to watch the Central Asian trade routes and to keep an eye on the Russians.

In order to prevent the Russians from taking advantage of Gilgit's resentment against the Maharaja of Kashmir, the British had formed a separate Gilgit Agency in 1877. This was abolished between 1881 and 1889, but then re-established with Durand as Agent. This period also saw the formation of the Gilgit Scouts, who would play an important role in this area immediately after Independence.

In the autumn of 1891 the Russians met and expelled the British from the Wakhan Valley. There were rumours of Russians in the mountains of Chitral and Kashmir. The Chief of Hunza declared in favour of Russia, and a British expedition set out to change his mind, setting up garrisons at Chalt and Hunza.

In 1892, the Great Mehtar of Chitral, Aman-ul-Mulk died. Sixteen of his seventeen sons died in the struggle for succession. The British moved in, and installed the seventeenth son, who was 'an intelligent, trustworthy little boy, 9 or 10 years old,' according to Younghusband, the officer in charge.

Frontier and Balochistan

After the Second Afghan War, the Forward Policy in relation to Afghanistan had been once more abandoned, but a Moderate Forward Policy now came into its own. Political agencies were established in South Waziristan, and from 1881, the five valleys of Gomal, Tochi, Kurram, Malakand and Khyber were considered to be the fingers of 'the strong right hand' of British power in the Frontier.

The Russians occupied Penjdeh in north-west Afghanistan, and there was a possibility of Britain going to war in defence of Afghanistan, but the Afghan Amir, Abdur Rahman, suggested at a conference in Rawalpindi that the Russians be allowed to keep Penjdeh as long as the border commission recognized his claim to the Zulfikar Pass.

Sandeman tried to extend his system from Sindh and Balochistan northwards. He moved from Zhob up the Gomal River in Waziristan, establishing pickets and levy posts and overcoming the Shiranis and

Khidarzais. At first the Orakzais were able to drive back the British who were attempting to construct pickets along the Samana Crest.

In 1891, a punitive expedition was launched against the Orakzais, pickets were established, and the British declared a new boundary. The pickets in the Kurram Valley were appreciated by the Turis, who were Shias, and were persecuted by their Sunni neighbours. The Kurram Valley was formally claimed as British territory in 1892.

Sandeman died of a sudden illness in Las Bela in 1892. To remind us of his era, there is Fort Munro (founded by Sandeman but named after the Commissioner of the Derajat Division), and the Government rest-house at Ziarat.

Khudadad Khan of Kalat was no longer an enthusiastic teenager, but an experienced fifty-two year old ruler. When he had several courtiers executed for being British agents, the British, who had earlier upheld his right to award death sentences, deposed him. They installed his son, Mahmud (1893-1931), whom they knew would be too busy with his harem of three hundred to oppose British plans.

Durand Line, 1893

In 1893, Mortimer Durand persuaded the Amir of Afghanistan to agree to a line of demarcation between Afghanistan and the British Empire which was henceforth known as the Durand Line. Later, the Afghans would claim that the Afghan Amir, Abdur Rahman, only agreed under duress. Certainly, Abdur Rahman was under great pressure from various directions.

Rebellions were seething in Afghanistan and the Russians were at the western borders. The British, still in control of Afghan foreign affairs since the Second Afghan War, were building roads and railways up to the eastern borders, and were in control of the commerce of arms and ammunition into Afghanistan. There were veiled threats of an embargo, and the Amir received a letter from the Viceroy which seemed to be an ultimatum.

In return for his agreement, the Amir received an increase of his subsidy and the recognition of his right to import munitions. The Amir warned the British that the border tribes would cause trouble, and that it was not in the British interest to weaken him.

The Durand Line moved the line of attempted control from the foot to the crest of the hills. On the British side of the line were the Afridis of the Khyber region, the Mahsuds, the Wazirs, and the Swat

tribes along with the chieftains of Chitral and Gilgit. The British proceeded to assert their authority over these areas at the cost of a series of military campaigns.

During the demarcation of the border, the Mahsuds, under Powindah Mullah, attacked and burned the British camp at Wana in southern Waziristan. Therefore, the British decided to build a strong garrison there.

The Daurs hoped that the British presence in the Tochi Valley would help protect them from their neighbours. The Kuz Mohmand clans were assured by the British that they would continue to receive the subsidies and protection from the British that they had formerly received from the Amir of Afghanistan.

Siege of Chitral, 1895

A British-led force of 400 men were beseiged in the Chitral fort (ancestral home of the Chitral ruling family) by a combined force from Dir and Chitral for 48 days. Two hundred and fifty men struggled through the snow from Gilgit to rescue them and another force marched through the hostile territory of Dir, but arrived just too late to help.

The British built a road through the Malakand Pass, set up posts at the crossing of the Swat River and in Chitral and set up a permanent garrison there. There was war talk in the British and Russian newspapers, but with the Pamir Boundary Agreement of March 1895, the most dangerous part of the Great Game was over.

The Wakhan Corridor would serve as a buffer between Russia and the Pakistan area for almost a century, until its occupation by Russia in the 1980s. In 1896, the border between Persian Balochistan and British Balochistan was demarcated with pillars. 1896 was the date of the First Hur Uprising in Sindh.

The Pathan Uprising, 1897

The Chitral campaign of 1895 led on to the general Pathan Uprising of 1897, when 'the border burst into flame from the Tochi to the Malakand'. Like the Great Revolt of 1857, (in which the Frontier tribes generally did not participate), the Pathan Uprising consisted of simultaneous, disconnected and spontaneous eruptions. Just as the Great Revolt was in response to many specific provocations and to

the general aggressiveness of the British in the time of Dalhousie, the Pathan Uprising resulted from various specific causes as well as from the Forward Policy in general.

Among the immediate causes were the increase in the rock salt tax collected by the British and their refusal to return some captive women who had fled from the Afridi territories. Religious feelings were uppermost. Communal tensions in Punjab had resulted in the killing of an Arya Samaj fanatic in 1897, although the government and educated Punjabis had been able to bring about an uneasy truce between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Some of the tribes' religious leaders were in communication with Muslims in India. Others may have been in contact with Turkey, where the Greco-Turkish War aroused a spirit of Muslim solidarity against the Christians.

The British treated the tribes very differently from the way the Afghans had treated them. Their subsidies were continued, but control was sought through a variety of negative, insulting measures including the frequent withholding of subsidies as well as fines and blockades.

The Tribal Areas were now home to many proclaimed offenders who had earlier been banned from British-administered territories. They were also full of armaments and men who knew how to use them.

For years, guns, supplied by the Amir of Kabul, stolen from British troops or produced in local workshops, had been bought and sold in India and Afghanistan. After 1890, guns began to arrive on the Makran Coast from the Persian Gulf, and it was the import of these guns which was threatened at the time of the Durand Agreement.

In June 1897 a Mr Gee went to select a site for a new fort in the Tochi Valley where some Wazir villages were under fine for having killed a Hindu the previous year. The Wazirs killed most of the officers, although Mr Gee and some others escaped.

In July, Mullah Mastun of Swat declared a *jehad* and marched south with his followers to the Malakand Pass. Twenty thousand tribesmen attacked the British at Chakdara and in the Pass. The Mullah lost 3,000 fighters and the British lost several hundred before the *lashkars* withdrew.

In August the Mohmands under Adda Mullah advanced to the edge of Peshawar District and destroyed a village where Hindus lived. The Orakzais cut off communications between the British and their posts on the Samana Crest.

The Afridis rose in the Khyber Pass under Mullah Sayyid Akbar, and the British withdrew their officers from the Pass. Some of the Khyber Militia held out, while others deserted. By mid-September an Afridi-Orakzai force of fifteen thousand had pushed the British back to Tirah.

Chikhai Sarwar Khan of Chmarik was now the virtual ruler of the lower Kurram Valley. The Mahsuds were late to join the insurrection, but continued to fight under Powindah Mullah during 1901 and 1902. Chikhai of the Kurram was killed by feuding Wazirs in 1903.

It took 60,000 men to pacify and punish the Tribal Areas over the next three years. Expeditions were sent, fines levied, rifles confiscated, pickets built and agreements extracted from *jirgas* which had been coerced to meet. But the problem of controlling the tribal areas was by no means solved.

Lord Curzon, the new Viceroy, decided that the large army which had been used to quell the Frontier uprising had been provocative and expensive. He separated the North-west Frontier Province and the Tribal Areas from Punjab, and put them under the direct control of the central government. New militias were formed and the levies were reorganized. The army was withdrawn to cantonments in the settled areas for internal defense.

Curzon's Closed Border Policy did reduce tensions. The Pathans were probably proud to have a separate province, although the Hindus had preferred being part of Punjab.

In terms of political development, however, it was a step backward, at least for the settled areas. Since 1897, there had been a legislative council in Punjab with some slight degree of popular representation. Now the NWFP was like Punjab had been in 1857.

Central Asia

There were only a few more moves left in the Great Game. In 1900, the Russians announced that they wanted to establish relations with Afghanistan, and moved troops to the north of the Oxus. The Afghan Amir, Abdur Rahman, died in 1901, and was succeeded by his son, Habibullah, whose hold on the throne was at first shaky. On the British side, Younghusband's expedition to Lhasa in 1903-4, was the last expression of the Forward Policy in Central Asia.

Then the Russians were defeated in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, and their mystique as an invincible imperial force was punctured

in their own eyes, and in those of the British and the people of Asia. For more than seventy-five years, the Tsarist Empire had been expanding at the expense of Afghanistan, the Muslim Khanates of Central Asia and the Ottoman Turkish Empire.

After the decline of Persia and the Mughal Empire, Ottoman Turkey had been the last symbol of Muslim power and magnificence in the world, but now the Ottoman Empire was disintegrating. Some areas (mainly Christian), gained their independence from the Turks. The Russian and Turkish Empires fought two wars, one ending in 1829, the other in 1878. Both resulted in some diminution of the Turkish Empire.

Educated people in the subcontinent, including the Hindus but particularly the Muslims, who were in constant contact with the Middle East, saw Tsarist Russian imperialism as at least as dangerous as British imperialism. Therefore, they rejoiced and took heart at the defeat of a Christian European Empire by non-Christian Asians in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. The terrorism and democratic struggle in Russia which culminated in Russia's democratic revolution in 1905, after her defeat by Japan, inspired the students of the subcontinent to similar activities, particularly in Bengal.

Radicalization in Bengal

In the north-east, the oldest seat of British rule, the (mainly Hindu) business groups had at first seen the British as a liberating force against Mughal rule. Even before the Battle of Plassey, the British had been major employers in Bengal.

Soon, English-language schools sprang up throughout Bengal and that area remained an important source of skilled manpower for the British Raj. After the Mutiny, soldiers were no longer recruited in large numbers from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but government offices all over the subcontinent were run by educated men (still mainly Hindus) from the north-east.

Now the Empire had ceased to expand and there were more and more educated natives, both Hindus and Muslims, graduating from the schools to compete for jobs. As England itself became more democratic, these English-literate youth, both Hindu and Muslim (but most of whom were Bengali Hindus) became more and more politically conscious, and resentful of British rule.

Hindi-Urdu Controversy

In 1900, the government of the United Provinces (UP) pronounced its verdict on the 30-year old Urdu-Hindi controversy. Until this time, Urdu had been the court language.

The new ordinance placed Urdu and Hindi on a par, directed the courts of law not to refuse plaints drafted in Hindi, laid down the rule that all future government notifications were to be bilingual and restricted government employment to those who could use both languages with equal facility.

The demands of the Hindus had been fully met, but to many Muslims, the decision came as a humiliating blow and caused widespread resentment. It was clear that the colonial rulers were amenable to pressures of organized political activity, propaganda and agitations which the Hindu leaders used and the Muslim leaders abhorred. The time had come to decide whether the Muslims should remain politically inactive or chalk out some political strategy to safeguard their interests.

The matter was debated in the press and at the MAO College in Aligarh. Mr Mushtaq Husain (better known as Viqar-ul-Mulk) pointed out that, as a community, the Muslims were in a predicament, faced with the alternatives of either marching into the Congress camp *en bloc* or bringing into being a corresponding political organization of their own. Association with the Congress, he argued, would be tantamount to communal suicide, which could only be averted by organizing the Muslim community to act together.

The English Principal of MAO College, Mr Theodore Morrison, strongly disapproved of the idea. He advised the Muslim community to turn to the promotion of education and economic improvement and to put their trust in the Government. Morrison's intervention decided the issue and the attempt to found a Muslim political organization in Aligarh was given up.

However, Viqar-ul-Mulk continued his efforts to found a Muslim political organization. He summoned a convention of Muslim notables at Lucknow. Addressing the gathering, he analysed the causes of the Muslim reverse on the language issue and of other administrative discriminations against them, all of which he ascribed to the inability of the community to send representatives of their own choice to the legislative councils. His speech read like a plea for a separate electorate.

The long discussion that followed resulted in the formation of the Muslim Political Organization which languished after an uneventful career of three years, because Muslim apathy towards politics was still deep-rooted and could not easily be overcome.

Between 1900 and 1905, the Muslim youth of northern India campaigned against Hindi as a language of government. Muslim government employees of UP were just beginning to catch up with the Hindus in their knowledge of English, and thus recover from the decline of Persian and rise of English as a language of government. They would now be required to master the Devanagri or Sanskrit script, which was already part of a Hindu's education.

Lord Curzon, 1899-1905

Lord Curzon became Viceroy when he was forty years old. He was, in his own words, 'an imperialist, heart and soul'. As an imperialist, he knew the economic and military importance of the subcontinent to Britain. He frankly declared that so long as Britain ruled over India, Britain would be 'the greatest power in the world.'

Lord Curzon wanted to strengthen the foundations of British rule by making the administration more efficient rather than by associating the representatives of the people with the Raj. He therefore decided to ignore the demands of self-government and to overhaul the whole administrative system. Curzon refused to tolerate unnecessary paperwork and office delays and he examined the working of each department.

Particular attention was paid to strengthening the departments dealing with law and order. The police department was completely reorganized. A new Criminal Investigation Department was created. Pay scales were raised and training procedures were revised in order to improve the quality of the police force.

Economic Reforms

When Curzon arrived, the country was suffering from the effects of a severe drought. Many of his reforms were aimed at preventing famine in the future. An agricultural department was created, experimental farms were set up and a research institute was established in Bihar to introduce modern and scientific methods in agriculture. A Commission was appointed to examine the question of irrigation.

Co-operative credit societies were established to protect peasants from the clutches of money-lenders. One of his measures was the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, under which cultivators could not sell their lands to people who were not related, did not live in the village, and did not belong to the agricultural castes. They were also not allowed to mortgage their lands for more than thirteen years. This law did protect the peasants from losing their lands to the merchants and moneylenders, although it did not prevent their lands from falling into the hands of the great landholders.

A new railway board was also created to plan and operate railways. The puppet Khan of Kalat signed the Nushki area (along the Persian-Balochistan border, south-west of Quetta) over to the British. It was agreed that the British could expand their holdings through irrigation, and that they could run the railway to Kandahar.

In the Frontier, work continued on new roads and railroads, and it was thought that in case of large uprisings, the army could be transported quickly to trouble spots. In 1902, the road through the Kohat Pass was completed, so that the distance between Kohat and Peshawar could be covered in a few hours. Over the next two years railroad spurs were constructed up to the entrances of the Malakand and Khyber Passes. A narrow gauge line connected the Indus with Thal at the neck of the Kurram Valley.

NWFP

In the north-west, Curzon's policies of separating the NWFP from Punjab and bringing it under direct rule by the centre, of withdrawing troops to cantonments and of improving communications and transit pacified almost everyone—except for the Zakka Khel Afridis.

They were a bandit tribe who preyed upon the Afghans, the British, other Frontier *khels*, each other, and especially the Hindus of the plains. From September 1904 to 1908, they raided the outskirts of Kohat and Peshawar, growing wealthier and better armed—with rifles smuggled from the Persian Gulf through Balochistan and Afghanistan. They engaged village police and troops. They tried to kidnap the Extra-Assistant Commissioner of Peshawar and they attacked a Hindu home right in Peshawar city.

They had been sentenced to innumerable fines which went unpaid. After a British expedition, some Zakka Khel Afridis fled to Afghanistan, while others made their peace with the British

government. By 1910, the gun smuggling from the Persian Gulf and Makran Coast had been at least temporarily curtailed.

Education and Culture

To his credit, Curzon founded the Imperial Library in Calcutta, established the department of archaeology and patronized the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Curzon's Universities Act of 1904, on the other hand, was aimed at tightening government control over educational institutions, although its stated purpose was to improve the standard of higher education. Educated persons opposed the Act, but the government ignored their pleas.

Under the Act, the number of Senate members was reduced and henceforth, the majority of members would be nominated by the government. Vice-Chancellors were to be appointed by the government and strict rules were framed for the inspection of existing colleges and for the affiliation of new colleges to the Universities.

Politics in Punjab

The Land Alienation Act to protect peasants was opposed by the merchant castes, who were mainly Hindu townsmen and often belonged to the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj worked against this Bill, and temporarily dominated the Congress in the Punjab.

A new generation of Muslim politicians had emerged in Punjab led by Shah Din and Muhammad Shafi. They opposed Congress, but encouraged joint protests with Hindus against Curzon. Supporting efforts to improve the economic condition of India, they were especially active in the new Punjab Swadeshi Association, a non-sectarian body which encouraged native industry and popularized the use of Indian-made cloth.

Partition of Bengal, 1905

The Province of Bengal included not only East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and West Bengal, but also Bihar and Orissa. The population of this large administrative unit was then seventy-eight million. It was too large to administer properly. Several schemes for its division had been under consideration for a long time.

Many Muslims supported the partition of Bengal, which, as Curzon had assured them in Dhaka, would open up new opportunities for the

Muslim community, both in commerce, by encouraging the development of the port of Chittagong and in government service, by setting up new headquarters in Dhaka and elsewhere.

In 1905, Curzon formed a separate province of East Bengal and Assam. The primary purpose of Bengal's partition was administrative, but it also served the interests of the backward Bengali Muslims who were dominated and exploited by the Hindu elites and were dependent on Calcutta in almost all matters.

The Bengali Hindus thought that Curzon had deliberately divided the province to harm their interests. East Bengal together with Assam would be a Muslim majority province, and in West Bengal, the Bengali Hindus would be in the minority in comparison to Biharis and Oriyas. Just as Chittagong and Dhaka stood to gain by the partition of Bengal, Calcutta's importance and opportunities would be diminished.

Hindu Bengal considered the partition an attack on its growing 'national' solidarity, a punishment for its leading role in the political movement, and proof of government partiality towards the Muslims. In Bengal, the partition and the police repression of demonstrations against it, led to Hindu anti-British militancy, and often to violent boycott tactics. Boycott of British goods was mainly enforced by schoolboys, and was resented by Muslim shopkeepers and traders.

In Punjab, relatively far away from these issues, Hindu-Muslim co-operation continued for the moment in the *swadeshi* movement. The Muslims made it clear that if Hindu politicians in Punjab encouraged forcible boycott or endorsed Bengali extremism, co-operation would cease. The Arya Samaj leaders knew that in the Muslim-majority province of Punjab, Muslim support was necessary for an effective *swadeshi* movement.

After the partition, some young Muslims retained their militancy, and continued to demand more self-government. But many Muslims throughout the subcontinent felt that their interests would be best served by continued expressions of loyalty to the British Raj, along with requests for protection from the Hindu majority.

Lord Minto (1905-10) replaced Lord Curzon as Viceroy in the autumn of 1905. A debate began in Britain about constitutional reforms for India. While the reform scheme was being thrashed out by a committee of the Viceroy's Council, the Muslim leaders decided to make an immediate move for the protection of Muslim interests in the future.

Simla Deputation, 1906

A Muslim Deputation consisting of thirty-six members and led by the Aga Khan, met the Viceroy at Simla in October, 1906. In his address, the Aga Khan said that if it was intended to introduce or extend the electoral system, the Muslims should be represented as a community. The Viceroy agreed. He assured the Muslims that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded by any administrative reorganization with which he was concerned.

Formation of the All-India Muslim League, 1906

The acceptance of their demands revived the idea that the Muslims should have their own political organization. In November 1906, Khwaja Salim Ullah of Dhaka sent around a circular proposing the establishment of a political party for the protection and advancement of Muslim interests. It ended by asking all those who planned to attend the next session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference to come prepared to discuss the scheme at a special sitting.

The annual session of the Conference was held in the last week of 1906 in Dhaka and was attended by some three thousand delegates. On 30 December 1906, the resolution to establish a political party was unanimously adopted and the organization was named the All-India Muslim League. The League was to have three objectives: to foster loyalty to the British Government among the Muslims; to look after the political interests of the Muslims; and to bring about a better understanding between Muslims and other communities.

The Aga Khan was elected President. The first session of the All-India Muslim League was held in Karachi in 1907. The central office of the League was at first located at Aligarh (it was moved to Lucknow in 1910).

CONCLUSION: 1880-1906

The British tried to repeat their success in Balochistan in the present-day NWFP area during this period (1880–1906). The Frontier tribes did not have any leader comparable to the Khan of Kalat. (The closest parallel would have been Shah Shuja of Afghanistan if the British had succeeded in keeping him enthroned.) Instead, although the Frontier had been providing fighting men to various imperial powers since

time immemorial, the tribes and tribesmen, because of their history and terrain, retained their fierce independence and democratic spirit. The Frontier was never subdued.

Despite the speeches of leaders and a mounting mass of resolutions passed annually by the Congress, and despite the Constitutional reforms of 1892, the British Crown's bureaucratic machine secured its iron grip over the world's largest colonial domain. The Secretary of State for India, working in London, was extremely powerful, especially from 1880 to 1914. In contrast to the days of J.S. Mill fifty years earlier, and his ideology of Utilitarianism, the bureaucrats in England during this period operated basically out of self-interest and were committed only to sustaining British rule. Therefore a change of personalities in the Viceregal lodge did not mean any radical change in policy. Viceroys were not in fact as important as they looked.

Lord Curzon had decided to ignore public opinion, and developments during his tenure as Viceroy ignited great controversy among the educated elites. The pro-Hindi verdict in UP pleased educated Hindus but upset the Muslims. The Land Alienation Act in Punjab and the partition of Bengal pleased the Muslims but upset the Hindus. The Universities Acts annoyed all of the educated groups. In spite of, and in some cases, because of his various efforts to tighten the administration and to maintain law and order, Lord Curzon left the northern subcontinent in a state of ferment. But this did not affect the bureaucratic system which was strong enough to carry on by itself.

The Muslims of the subcontinent decided to protect their interests by meeting the Viceroy at Simla in 1906, and then by forming their own political organization, the All-India Muslim League.

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Extremism, Romanticism, Pragmatism, (Or, More Hope and More Disillusionment), 1907-27

The first quarter of the twentieth century was one of idealism, romanticism and extremism. Change was in the air.

The conciliatory objectives of the newly formed All-India Muslim League were in contrast to those of the Indian National Congress, which in 1906 called for the establishment of self-governing British colonies and a boycott of British goods.

As the anti-partition issue became the focus of Bengali politics, the agitation there became more and more Hindu. In any case, the political extremists had been exploring the inspirational potentials of the Hindu religion for some time now, and had been linking their anti-British struggles historically with the anti-Mughal struggle of the Hindu Maratha, Shivaji.

Punjab Disturbances, 1907

Several actions taken hastily by the government adversely affected lives in the Punjab. In response to restrictions put upon the use and transfer of lands in the canal colonies and increased land taxes for the Rawalpindi area, educated Hindus and Muslims in the countryside encouraged the withholding of land revenue.

When the government increased water rates for the Bari Doab canal at a time when landholders were already under strain from threatened crop failure and a labour shortage, meetings were called in many towns, including Lahore, Lyallpur, Sialkot, Multan and Rawalpindi. They were addressed both by moderates like Gokhale and by Hindu militants who denounced the British and called for non-co-operation and a boycott of the army.

The editor and the owner of the Arya Samaj newspaper were both sentenced to long jail terms for spreading anti-British hatred. They had written about the death of two men forced to carry burdens for the British Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi, and the shooting of a Muslim orderly who had refused to carry a pig carcass across his saddle. The sentencing sparked a riot in Lahore on 16 April. A mob of students stormed through the city streets and attacked Englishmen.

A similar riot started at the courthouse in Rawalpindi on 2 May. Five lawyers had been issued show cause notices threatening to revoke their licences for having organized the meetings on water rates. The crowd was fed by strikes at the nearby railway workshop and the government arsenal. Upon hearing that the orders were stayed, the jubilant crowd attacked Europeans.

The government at first overreacted. British forces were ordered to Lahore, and the families of European civilians moved to the cantonments. Two politicians were deported, and public meetings in certain Punjab districts were banned. The rioters' bail applications were rejected and mass trials were arranged in Lahore and Rawalpindi for Hindus and Aryas suspected of planning the riots.

The Lieutenant Governor issued a warning that Hindus and Aryas tended to be seditious, and should be employed only after the greatest scrutiny, and should be dismissed at the least sign of disloyalty. Later the central government vetoed the Colonization Bill and freed the deported politicians and most of the accused rioters in Lahore and Rawalpindi.

But many Punjabi Hindus had come to feel that both the British and the Muslims were determined to discriminate against them. The Hindu zealots increased their efforts to reconvert both Christians and Muslims back to Hinduism through their Shuddhi Sabhas.

Increased Militancy

In May 1907, there was a general rising of Muslim peasantry against their Hindu landlords and creditors in the District of Mymensingh in Bengal. It was given a communal colour and a riot broke out in Calcutta. Between 1906 and 1908, the anti-partition agitation spread throughout India. In Bengal, it took an organized anarchist and terrorist turn.

There was disagreement in Congress over both goals and means, resulting in a split in 1907. The moderates, led by Naoroji, counselled

co-operation in hopes of more representation, while the extremists, led by Tilak, wanted to demand rights and encourage *swadeshi*, or self-sufficiency based on the use of home-made goods.

The Congress party continued to function in spite of the split, but the Congress and the Muslim League were also drifting farther apart. In 1908, the Muslim League endorsed the partition of Bengal and condemned agitation against it. 1908 marked the 50th Anniversary of Crown Rule (and the Great Revolt). Queen Victoria's son and successor promised eventual representative government.

Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909

The Act of 1909, also known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, increased the number of additional members in the Viceroy's Legislative Council from sixteen to sixty. Of these, twenty-seven were to be indirectly elected. The Provincial Legislative Councils were also enlarged. Separate representation was granted to the Muslims in the provinces.

The powers of the Councils were increased. Now these bodies could not only discuss but also pass resolutions on the budget. They could also ask questions and pass resolutions on matters of public interest. For the first time, one seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council was reserved for a native and natives were to be included in the Provincial Executive Councils.

The Act of 1909 was not intended to introduce democracy in the country; it only provided some opportunities to persons of the upper classes and the intelligentsia to participate in law making and administration with limited powers. The purpose was to secure the support and co-operation of these groups.

The legislature did not have control over the executive, and could not pass resolutions on matters concerning the army and foreign relations. The resolutions were to be in the form of recommendations and could be disallowed by the Viceroy at the Centre and by the Governors in the Provinces.

The Morley-Minto Reforms, however, were an advance on the Act of 1892. The increase in the numbers and powers of Legislative Councils was a small but definite step in the direction of representative and responsible government, and as such it was generally welcomed by the people.

The upper classes and vested interests were reasonably satisfied by

the Act of 1909. But since the elections were indirect and the franchise was limited, it made no difference to the common man whether there were more or less native members in the Legislative Councils.

The granting of separate representation to the Muslims encouraged them to become more active in politics, but it further convinced Hindu extremists that the British had become pro-Muslim. For those Muslims who followed international developments, however, it seemed that the British were anything but pro-Muslim.

Anglo-Russian Convention, 1907

Britain had claimed for many years to be defending the Muslim world from Russia, but Britain and Russia now seemed to be dividing that world between them. Germany was now replacing Russia as Britain's major rival, just as Russia had earlier replaced France. The rising power of Germany was convincing both Russia and Britain to settle their differences and join forces against the German Kaiser.

In 1905, the border between British Balochistan and Persia had been fine-tuned and the new Afghan ruler, Habibullah, had signed the Anglo-Afghan Pact of 1905. Habibullah had ratified his father's agreements with the British, but the British had refused to make any firm commitments to defend Afghanistan against Russia.

Neither the Persian nor the Afghan ruler was invited to the 1907 conference in St. Petersburg, Russia, and the Afghan Amir's objections were ignored when the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. Russia would keep all Afghan territory north of the Oxus, but would not attempt to exercise influence within Afghanistan.

Persia was divided into two zones of influence, Russian in the north and British in the south. Except for a brief confrontation in Persia in 1911, this truce in the Great Game lasted for a decade, until the end of Tsarist rule in 1917.

In 1908, the Young Turks Society in the Ottoman Empire brought about the establishment of a constitutional government with an elected parliament in Turkey. Many Muslims in the subcontinent hoped that this was the beginning of the revitalization of the Ottoman Empire and of the entire Muslim world. Two social reformers of the Frontier area, Abdul Ghaffar Khan (popularly known as Bacha Khan) and Maulvi Fazli Mahmud Makhfi founded the Anjuman Islah-i-Afghana in 1910 at Charsadda. Soon primary schools were being established in various towns.

Lord Hardinge (1910–16) and the Delhi Durbar

Minto was replaced by Lord Hardinge in 1910 as Viceroy of the subcontinent. In December 1911, a Durbar was held at Delhi to celebrate the coronation of George V. At the Durbar, the King offered amnesty to all political prisoners, set apart a sizeable sum of money for the advancement of education, removed the ineligibility of Indian soldiers for the high military decoration of the Victoria Cross, granted an additional half-month's salary to the low grade employees of the Government, and transferred the seat of Government from Calcutta to Delhi mainly to be closer to the summer resort of Simla.

Partition Annulled, 1911

Lastly, the King annulled the partition of Bengal. The revocation of the partition of Bengal balanced the 'demotion' of Calcutta, and was obviously aimed at appeasing the militant Hindus, and it achieved the desired results. It ensured the successful progress of the royal tour in the subcontinent without any untoward incidents and it earned the gratitude of the Indian National Congress.

The annulment of the partition of Bengal was sudden and startling. It meant that the campaign of terrorism initiated by the Hindus had succeeded. The case of the Muslims could be overlooked by the Government because they were too inarticulate to make their opposition effective. The undoing of the Bengali Muslims' province made the Muslim leaders realize the value of political agitation and the worthlessness of the policy of loyalty to the Government which they had so far pursued.

The Muslims' disillusionment with the Government further increased when they were disallowed in 1912 from developing the MAO College into a University. Muslim indignation against this decision found expression in protest meetings throughout the country. There were some advances in Muslim education, however. Islamia College, Peshawar, which would become Peshawar University after Independence, was founded in 1911, thanks to Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum.

European Attacks on Turkish Empire, 1912

In two months, starting in October 1912, the states of the Balkan peninsula, which had earlier gained independence from Ottoman

Turkey, pushed the Ottomans out of Macedonia with the encouragement of Russia (now allied with France and Britain). This area would eventually become Albania, south-eastern Yugoslavia and northern Greece, but disagreement about how it should be divided provided one more source for the tensions leading to World War I.

In the same year, Italy attacked the Turkish possession of Tripoli (present-day Libya). The British government's refusal to allow Turkish troops to cross Egypt (which Britain had occupied since 1882), angered the people of the subcontinent, particularly the Muslims. The Muslims resented this continuous dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and saw this as one more betrayal by the English of Muslim interests.

Students held meetings to protest Italy's attack, money was raised for a medical mission sent to aid Turkey under Dr. M.A. Ansari, and the Urdu journals—Maulana Muhammad Ali's *Comrade,* Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's *Al-Hilal* in Calcutta, and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's *Zamindar* in Lahore all wrote editorials in support of Turkey.

The Kanpur Mosque Incident, 1913

At Kanpur in 1913, the British partially destroyed a mosque in order to build a road. The Muslims protesting its destruction were fired upon. This, along with the international events, helped to alter Muslim League policy toward the British.

Changes in the Muslim League

The reversal of partition left many Muslims disillusioned with the British. Viqar-ul-Mulk wrote in an article:

> Muslim patience has already been tried to the limit by hostile British policies towards Tripoli and Persia...This latest knock merely heightens our frustration and deepens our despair...It is as clear as day that Muslims can no longer put their faith in the government. We have to rely upon God and on our own exertions...

The Objectives Resolution in the Muslim League Constitution was changed. Feelings of loyalty were still to be promoted, but toward the Crown rather than toward the British Government. And a fourth objective was added: 'to secure suitable self-government under the British Crown.' The word suitable was considered necessary to leave room for the protection of the Muslim minority.

Since they could no longer trust the British, some Muslims now felt that relations with the Hindus and the Congress Party ought to be improved. Negotiations began.

New Muslim Leadership

The Indian National Congress was represented by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a successful Muslim lawyer of Bombay. Jinnah, born in Karachi, had been a firm supporter of equal rights for all people in the British Empire since his days as a law student in England, when he helped a Bengali Parsee named Dadabhai Naoroji to become the first man of colour to win a seat in the British Parliament.

After his return from England in 1897, however, Jinnah had at first abstained from politics, and had concentrated on building his legal practice. Jinnah had been persuaded in 1906 to join the Congress by his old mentor from England, Dadabhai Naoroji. Jinnah hoped that he could be an ambassador for Muslim-Hindu unity. Now he also joined the Muslim League (as well as the Home Rule League in Bombay).

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was another Muslim who belonged to the more militant wings of both the Muslim League and the Congress. But while Jinnah, the British-trained lawyer, always preferred to press his demands through legal channels, Maulana A.K. Azad, having finished his training as a Muslim theologian at the age of seventeen, became involved in secret groups devoted to armed struggle in Bengal. Some of these groups were dominated by Hindus, but two of these sought to organize the Muslims of Bengal. In 1914 his *Al-Hilal* press was confiscated and he started a new journal, *Al Balagh.*

At the other end of the spectrum from A.K. Azad and armed struggle (with Jinnah's determined but legal efforts in the centre), was the aristocratic manner of the Aga Khan, who, while always ready to represent the interests of the world's Muslims, was not at all anti-British. He could no longer feel comfortable as President of the Muslim League, and withdrew in 1914. Yet another viewpoint was represented by the educationist and social reformer of the Frontier, Abdul Ghaffar (Bacha Khan). He established primary schools and preached his philosophy of peace, unity and brotherhood in the local mosques.

World War I, 1914-18

The nations of Europe, busy with colonization, industrialization, unification and democratization, had kept relative peace among themselves for several decades by maintaining a delicate balance of power. Meanwhile, they had gravitated into two main camps, with Britain, France and Russia on one side, and Germany and Austria on the other.

No one was surprised when tensions finally erupted in 1914 and all of Europe was immersed in The Great War. What was surprising was the extent to which it became a World War, engulfing the Middle East and severely affecting the Indian subcontinent.

Both sides sought the co-operation of the people of the subcontinent. At first, many people felt proud to be part of the mighty British Empire and anxious to play an important role in the war effort. Hundreds of thousands of men were recruited to fight outside of the subcontinent.

Tens of thousands would die far from home. (In the autumn of 1914, the first divisions from Lahore and Meerut were shipped to the trenches of France. Because the British had not provided its native soldiers with up-to-date training or weaponry ever since the Great Revolt, casualties were high.)

Some believed the British claim that they were fighting for the right of self-determination for people everywhere. Others thought that Britain's involvement in the war should be taken advantage of in the struggle for independence.

The Ghadr party of Sikhs in Punjab hoped to spark a new Great Revolt among the armed forces by attacking the Lahore and Ferozepur cantonments. The group was infiltrated, the plot foiled, and the members arrested in February 1915.

Ghadr party members living along the west coast of North America made several unsuccessful attempts, with German support, to ship arms and ammunition to insurgents in the subcontinent. Bengali rebels were in contact with the Germans in East Asia.

For the Muslims of the subcontinent, and especially of the present-day Pakistan area, which provided a significant portion of the Empire's armed forces, the issue was complicated. They had hoped that Turkey would join Britain in the war, but instead it joined Germany. The Middle East became a vast battleground. A society was formed for the protection of the holy places: Khuddam-i-Kaaba. Some Muslims decided to sit out the war. The Niazis, for instance, refused to enlist.

Turkey, when joining Germany, had declared a *jehad* and some Muslims of the subcontinent wanted to join this. By the end of February, 1915, the'anti-British pan-Islamic movement had shown itself in the flight of the Lahore students to Kabul,' according to Punjab's British governor. Young Muslims from northern India toured the North-west Frontier area, investigating the potential productive capabilities of the arms workshops, and giving anti-British speeches.

Funds were raised for a joint German-Afghan attack on the British-occupied subcontinent, but Germany was far away and the Afghan Amir remained on good terms with the British. The Afridis' allowances had just been doubled, and apart from the followers of Ahmed Shah Barelvi, few in the Frontier were interested in joining this *jehad*. Nevertheless, rumours continued to circulate that a joint German-Turkish invasion would soon drive the British from the subcontinent.

More Punjab Disturbances

In the Multan, Jhang and Muzaffargarh districts, groups of peasants who were heavily in debt, suffering from high prices and low credit (due to the war), as well as from a severe epidemic of the plague, decided to take the law into their own hands. They began to attack the property of Hindu moneylenders, many of whom had temporarily left the area to escape the plague.

Much property was destroyed, including the records of many debts. Several Hindus died of injuries and several Muslim peasants were shot by local police or villagers. The British Territorials were now marched from Multan through the affected area.

Around four thousand men were arrested and herded into a concentration camp at Multan. Punitive police were posted to make the peasants compensate the Hindus for their losses, and to produce fresh debt documents. It was more than a year before these forces could be withdrawn.

In March, the Defence of India Act enabled the government to set up Special Tribunals. The accused Ghadr party conspirators were given summary trials with no right of appeal. Some were executed and others transported for life to the Andaman Islands. Meanwhile, the members of the armed forces accused of co-operating with them were court-martialled and shot. Under the same Act, a Tribunal was set up in Multan. Around 800 Punjabis were tried and about 500

sentenced to exemplary punishment for their part in the peasant uprising.

In May 1915, the Ali brothers were interned and publication of their journal *Comrade* was suspended for its editorial, 'The Choice of the Turks.' Maulana Azad and other extremists were also interned for the duration of the war.

Maulana Obeidullah Sindhi proceeded first to Sindh (where Sir Abdullah Haroon of Karachi had been a major fund-raiser) and then to Kabul with the money for the *jehad* in August, but the mission came to nothing and he was obliged to leave. A mission to Makkah by Maulana Mahmudul Hasan also came to nothing, and Maulana Hasan was interned to Malta. In 1916, the Arabs, under the leadership of the Sharif of Makkah, further confused the issue by responding to British encouragement to revolt against Ottoman rule.

With promises of respect for the holy places and of fair treatment for Turkey after the war, the British Government was able to gain the co-operation of most Muslims. Muslim troops contributed significantly to British victories against the Turks.

Lucknow Pact, 1916-17

As the war dragged on, both the British and the people of India became conscious of the immensity of the subcontinent's sacrifices for the war effort in terms of lives, manpower, supplies, finances and patience with high prices for wheat, rice, kerosene, etc. The Muslims' concern for Turkey had done much to dispel their pro-British reputation. The growing mood of determination to participate in governing the subcontinent led to the Lucknow Pact between the Muslim League and the Congress in 1916.

The Congress conceded the Muslims' demand for separate electorates, and both parties agreed that Hindus and Muslims should be guaranteed a certain number of seats in areas where they were a minority.

The Muslims thereby gave up their claims to majorities in Punjab and Bengal in return for a promise of extra seats for Muslims in Muslim minority provinces. The principal negotiator was again Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was by now quite prominent in the Indian National Congress and had toured Europe with Gokhale.

On 20 August 1917, the British recognized both the subcontinent's contribution and its determination by announcing their intention of granting gradual self-government within the Empire.

Russian Revolution, 1917

Just as the Russo-Japanese War had led into Russia's democratic revolution, World War I precipitated Russia's socialist revolution. The new revolutionary Soviet government immediately began negotiating its withdrawal from World War I.

It also released many people from former Ottoman territories who had been captured while resisting Tsarist imperial expansion. These people now returned to Central Asia. Some of them arrived in Afghanistan and spread the word that a different sort of regime had come to power in Russia which claimed to support the independence of colonized peoples everywhere.

The Russian Revolution was a fresh inspiration to many, but a nightmare to the British authorities. Throughout 1918, the British were aware of the danger of much greater unrest than that which had occurred in 1906 to 1908 in Bengal and Punjab or in 1915 in Punjab.

Punjabi landholders wanted to earn money supplying the high war demands for crops, but the tremendous recruiting campaigns had drained the area of much of its labour power. Expenses were high and goods were rationed. Then, in the autumn of 1918, the terrible worldwide scourge of influenza arrived, taking perhaps five million lives in the subcontinent as a whole and causing a million deaths in British-ruled Punjab.

The British were concerned about reabsorbing returning servicemen into a peacetime society. They were worried about how they would control the populace after the war when the Defence of India Act would no longer be applicable.

Rowlatt Report, 1918

A commission was set up under a Justice Rowlatt to investigate sedition in the subcontinent. Having covered Tilak's extremism, and terrorism in Bengal, it went on to discuss the Ghadr party.

The evidence of attempts at armed struggle, the fear of Communist ideology, the burdens of high prices and the severe influenza epidemic, and a worry about what the native soldiers would do upon their return to the subcontinent all led the British to propose the Rowlatt Act. This provided for preventive detention, that is, people could be arrested and imprisoned without trial and without the government even having to specify their crimes.

The War Ends, 1918

On 11 November 1918, World War I ended, with Britain and its allies victorious and Germany, along with Turkey, defeated. The December meetings of the Muslim League and Congress parties had much to consider. The Muslim League passed a resolution calling for the protection of the Khilafat or Caliphate.

There was concern that the Ottoman Sultan, stripped of his territories outside Turkey, might have difficulty exercising his role as Caliph, or religious leader, of the Muslim world. Jinnah and the Nawab of Mahmudabad, however, warned against dabbling in international affairs, just as Sir Sayyid had warned much earlier.

Gandhi and all of the major political parties called for protests against the proposed Rowlatt Act. In the Frontier, it was Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as Bacha Khan, the young landlord of Utmanzai, who led the agitation against the Rowlatt Act. He and his family have been central to NWFP politics ever since (Ghaffar Khan and his elder brother Dr. Khan Sahib were both jailed after the Rowlatt Act agitation).

Over the universal objections of the people and their leaders in the subcontinent and in spite of the votes of every elected native, the British pushed the Rowlatt Act into law on 18 March 1919. This provoked demonstrations and *hartals* in various places, including Multan and Amritsar, and resulted in several deaths in Delhi. Gandhi was not allowed to travel to Delhi, and two nationalist leaders were arrested and deported from Amritsar. In response, there were more demonstrations in Lahore and Kasur.

Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre, 1919

On 10 April in Amritsar, a large crowd attempting to enter the European cantonment, was turned away, and began rioting in the city. Order was restored by the army and public assemblies were banned. On 13 April in Amritsar, some Sikhs gathered together for their annual Baisakhi celebration, ignoring the ban on assemblies.

A General Dyer and his regiment fired on a crowd of men, women and children in the Jallianwalla Bagh, an enclosed area. The people, unable to flee, were massacred. The British admitted that this mistake had resulted in 400 deaths and 1,200 injuries. The Congress claimed 4,000 casualties.

The following day, a crowd in Gujranwala was bombed and machine-gunned from the air. Unrest sped as the news spread up and down the railway tracks to Wazirabad, Sheikhupura and a dozen other train stops—Gujrat, Lyallpur, etc. From 15 April to 9 June Punjab was under martial law. There were floggings for failure to salaam commissioned officers, or for refusals to sell milk. People were ordered to crawl along a street where a European missionary had been accosted and robbed.

It was British behaviour in Punjab which brought Gandhi firmly into politics, four years after his return to India from South Africa, where he had campaigned for Indians' rights. Like Jinnah, Gandhi had studied law in England.

Third Afghan War, 1919

The Russian Revolution led to chaos in Central Asia, which soon spilled into the Frontier area. Some Central Asian leaders thought that the revolutionaries held out the most hope of local autonomy and progress. Others tried to assert total independence. British forces supported the counter-revolutionaries throughout Central Asia. For several years, large contingents of Baloch and Pathan tribesmen were fighting on both sides of the conflict.

There was a belief in the Frontier and Afghanistan that the British had promised to cede the tribal areas to Afghanistan in return for that state's neutrality in World War I. Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan, who had remained on good terms with Britain throughout World War I, was assassinated in 1919, and his son Amanullah took power.

The British said that Amanullah had arranged his father's murder, but many believed that the British had killed Habibullah to keep him from exposing their promises and claiming the tribal areas. Amanullah declared war on the British in May 1919 while the Punjab was seething with unrest and clamped under martial law.

His declaration was followed by widespread tribal uprisings. On 26 May six hundred Wazirs of the Miranshah militia revolted and drove back the Kashmiri units sent to control them. Wazir and Afridi militia at Wana mutinied and captured large amounts of ammunition.

The Afghans advanced to Thal and Wana. Many Pathans mutinied and deserted the militias, attacking and looting loyal units. The British had to withdraw, but quickly managed to drive the Afghans back. They threatened to invade Afghanistan, and dropped a bomb on Kabul.

The Afghans retreated from Waziristan and the Treaty of Rawalpindi was signed in August 1919, reconfirming the Durand Line as the border between the British Empire and Afghanistan, but recognizing Afghanistan's right to handle its own affairs.

The Ulema and Congress

The end of World War I left the Muslim politicians' minds still focused on international issues. The Jami'at-e-Ulema-e-Hind, a party of learned and orthodox Muslim religious leaders, including Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, saw the British as greater enemies of Islamic civilization than the Hindus. They felt that the typically Westernized Aligarh-educated Muslims, who were often found in the Muslim League, were not qualified to be defenders of the faith.

The Jami'at-e-Ulema-e-Hind linked itself for the most part with the Congress Party. Several of its important leaders were released from prison, including the fiery Ali brothers and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. They met with Gandhi and Tilak—the Congress extremists.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919

At first it seemed that both the Muslim League and Congress would co-operate with the new Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms constitution, but the slowness with which this new constitution was coming into effect, in contrast to the immediate enactment of the Rowlatt Act, had irritated many. The people of the subcontinent as a whole were gradually becoming aware of the atrocities committed by the British in Punjab, through a Congress Report written mainly by Gandhi.

Muslims were increasingly upset with Britain's failure to keep her wartime promises about protecting Muslim interests in the Middle East. Gandhi had earlier seen in British insensitivity to the religious feelings of the Muslims, an opportunity for Hindu-Muslim co-operation.

Khilafat and Non-co-operation Movements Unite, 1920-2

After the Jallianwalla Bagh incident, Gandhi was slowly able to assume leadership of the Congress Party, and rally support for a proposed *satyagraha* or non-co-operation campaign, by which he

hoped to compel the British to grant *swaraj* or self-government within the year.

At the end of 1919, the movement to save the Caliphate—the Majlis-i-Khilafat and the Congress both held their meetings at Amritsar and issued a united call to renounce British-given titles, to boycott British-run schools, courts and government offices and to purchase locally-made, rather than English-made, goods. (Jinnah and the Nawab of Mahmudabad objected to the unconstitutionality of this movement, and Jinnah resigned from the Congress in 1920.)

A delegation, which included the Ali brothers, was sent to England to voice the concern of the Muslims to the British public and Government, but the Treaty of Sevres (1920) led to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

Hijrat Movement, August 1920

Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow issued a *fatwa* declaring that Muslims were obliged to leave the British-ruled subcontinent and migrate to a Muslim territory. About 20,000 Muslims, most of them Pathans from the Frontier, but also including thousands of Sindhis and a contingent of townspeople from Balochistan, quickly disposed of their immovable possessions. They sold their lands, homes and shops, and marched toward Kabul.

Fearing that Afghanistan would not have the resources to look after an indefinite number of immigrants, Amir Habibullah was embarrassed, and he co-operated with the British and closed his borders. Most of the faithful had to turn back, impoverished and displaced by this romantic impulse.

In October, thirty-six members of the Hijrat movement went to take a nine month course in Tashkent, where the Russians had set up a school for revolutionaries. A Provisional Government of India was established there, in contact with Kabul. Several of these militants later moved on to Moscow.

The Frontier

In the Frontier the Khilafat movement, the Hijrat movement, and tribal unrest were all related. A network of Khilafat Committees sprang up all over the Frontier. The treaty between Afghanistan and Britain convinced the northern Wazirs to accept British peace terms,

but the southern Wazirs kept fighting. The Wazirs, with experience in the colonial levies and militia, were now better trained than during the uprising of 1897. Nevertheless, they were quelled between February and May 1920.

Haji Abdur-Razaq and Mullah Bashi, both of Syed Ahmed Barelvi's colony, were the inspirational leaders of the Mahsuds' continued resistance up to 1921. The Mahsuds were a match for the well-organized British campaign of 1919–20, with its burn and scuttle tactics. The efforts to subdue these tribesmen cost a million pounds more than did the war against Afghanistan. The British burned the Mahsuds' principal town and occupied the area for six months.

Of the eighty thousand men participating in the course of the struggle to restore order to the Frontier, the British-led forces suffered five hundred deaths, two thousand injuries, and five thousand illnesses. The British eventually withdrew. The Mahsuds never surrendered and never paid a fine.

According to British intelligence, the followers of Syed Ahmed at Chamarkand continued to distribute Communist propaganda to the tribes of Dir and the Hazara border 'spreading Bolshevik doctrines under a Pan-Islamic cloak'. The British were worried that the 'Bolsheviks' (Communist revolutionaries) would take advantage of the uprisings.

The Peshawar-Jamrud railway was pushed through the Khyber Pass to Landikotal. A road system was constructed to link Wana, Razmak and Miranshah. The disbanded militia were replaced by Scouts, Khassadars and the Frontier Constabulary. Regular convoys moved between the forts on the north-south Peshawar-Bannu route. The Razmak Policy was approved by the British at the beginning of 1922. Large permanent garrisons were established at Razmak and Wana.

Although an inquiry commission in February 1922 suggested that the establishment of a legislative council and elected ministries for NWFP (as in the other provinces) might help to counter growing unrest, it was decided that because the province was so close to the tribal areas, the Frontier should once more be left out of the move towards more self-government, as it had been left out of the reforms of 1892 and 1909.

Central Asia

Struggle and negotiations continued in Central Asia, and among the governments of Russia, Britain and Afghanistan. Britain pulled back from the Central Asian arena in September 1920 when it decided not to protect the Amir of Bokhara against the Bolsheviks, and in February 1921, it recognized Afghanistan's right to control its own foreign affairs in the new Anglo-Afghan treaty. In a March 1921 Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement, both sides announced an end to hostilities, and Russia closed the Tashkent centre.

However, in 1921 the British complained that the Turkish leader Kemal, who set up an elite corps for King Amanullah and who founded an Islamic Revolutionary League in Kabul against British rule, was funnelling millions of rupees worth of Russian-financed arms to the Wazir Maliks. On 21 June 1921, fifteen of the Tashkent graduates were arrested in Peshawar. In August, an Afghan-Soviet Treaty was signed which provided for Soviet aid to Afghanistan, and for Soviet consulates to be setup in Kandahar and Ghazni on the British Empire's frontier.

Soviet Russia and some of the important Central Asian leaders became increasingly estranged as it became clear that the Central Asians' dreams of a Pan-Islamic state (probably shared by Amanullah of Afghanistan) conflicted with the Soviet's determination to establish their hegemony.

Nevertheless, the Russian representative in Kabul continued to request Moscow for money to support unrest, first among the Mohmands north of Peshawar, and then in Waziristan; in November 1922, seven more Tashkent alumni were arrested. The British estimated that the Russians provided 800,000 Kabuli rupees in the year after October 1922.

In May 1923, Britain demanded that the Russian representative be withdrawn from Kabul, and in October of that year another round of the Great Game came to an end. Raskkolnikov left Kabul, having accomplished little, and the Communists shifted their priorities from the Indian subcontinent to China.

Swat

The Akhund of Swat, Miangul Gulshazada Abdul Wadood, consolidated his state during the 1920s, organizing the tribes along the east bank of the Swat River (territory formerly claimed by the

Nawab of Dir), into a strong federation. The British looked the other way when the Akhund battled the Nawab of Amb (on the Indus above Attock) and took Buner in 1923.

He was proclaimed Wali of Swat in 1926, and in the 30s, with British encouragement, he extended his territory through Indus Kohistan up to Kashmir. He built forts up and down the valley, connected by phone, and established a small army and a number of schools.

Punjab

Elections took place in 1921 under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. From this time to the present day, each election in the subcontinent has split political leaders into two groups—those who call for participation in the electoral process and subsequent government, and those who instruct their followers to abandon the polls and take to the streets.

Leaders or parties who boycott one election may decide to contest the next one. Although the Congress party called for a boycott, about 30 per cent of the qualified voters went to the polls in 1921, and partially-elected governments were formed in some provinces.

In their new reforms, the British had attempted to shift attention from the central government (where they still retained almost total power) to the provinces, and from the cities (with their trouble-making, Westernized educated middle classes) to the countryside (where they still hoped for gratitude and loyalty from both the landed gentry and the peasantry).

Punjab had become more and more economically important with its thriving canal colonies, but the 1892 and 1909 reforms, which brought local self-government to other areas, had come late there. Positions in the various councils in Punjab had generally been nominated ones rather than elected, and the British had seen to it that these seats, along with posts in the administration, remained in the hands of Punjab's aristocratic families.

The landlords of the Punjab (who were mostly Muslims) now saw that it was in their interest to co-operate with the new reforms. The Rawalpindi-Multan tracts, where Muslims were most powerful, came to dominate Punjab's politics. Fazl-i-Husain, who became a minister in the Punjab at this time, would play an important role in the subcontinent's politics until his death in 1936.

Many Sikhs living east of the canal colonies, however, felt left out both politically and economically. There were many disbanded soldiers whose families were no longer receiving combat pay. Land prices and debts were high and there were fewer opportunities to migrate, either to the canal colonies or abroad.

The British military had encouraged the Sikhs to think of themselves as fierce and warlike. The Sikhs' struggle of the next five years has been called the Third Sikh War. 7,400 Sikhs were killed and 30,000 arrested.

Balochistan, Sindh and India

As in the Frontier and Punjab, the Non-co-operation Movement continued throughout the subcontinent and was almost always dominated by local concerns. People everywhere took courage to voice their demands under the umbrellas of the Khilafat movement or the Congress Party.

Mir Muhammed Azam Jan, brother of the Khan of Kalat, quietly encouraged his influential friends to be active in the 'Quit Balochistan' Movement. He was in constant touch with the Ali brothers, assured them of his fullest co-operation, and spent two decades in exile and imprisonment for his views. He was joined in his pro-Russian sentiments by Nawab Mehrullah Khan Marri and much of the educated youth of Balochistan.

Sindh was an important centre of the Khilafat movement because of its large number of *pirs*. Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and Abdullah Haroon gained prominence in the course of this movement. Various conferences, arrests and trials took place there. The Ali brothers, among others, were again sentenced to detention.

Many people, both Hindus and Muslims, courted arrest and the visit of the Prince of Wales was greeted with a *hartal*. Khaliquzzaman and Jawaharlal Nehru were both imprisoned as a result of this *hartal*. It became an honour to be a political prisoner and some thirty thousand people achieved this status. During the Khilafat movement it became a fashion to give children a combination of Muslim and Hindu names.

Non-co-operation Movement Called off, 1922

Not surprisingly, some of the conflicts stirred up by the Non-co-operation movement were not just between the natives and the British,

but between different interest groups—often between landlords and peasants. If conflicting groups also belonged to different religions, this added to the bitterness of the struggle.

When differences were serious, or when religious emotions were involved, clashes sometimes became violent. For example, on the Malabar coast, Muslim peasants of Arab descent—the Moplahs—rose against their Hindu landlords.

Gandhi, who had envisioned a nonviolent movement, called off the Congress party's Non-co-operation Movement after a village police station in UP was burnt down with about two dozen policemen inside. Fellow politicians thought that the British could have been brought to their knees, but Gandhi decided that the people had not yet been sufficiently prepared for a nonviolent struggle.

The British were able to arrest Gandhi in 1922, without undue commotion either from the populace at large, or from the Congress party. The Congress now became divided between those who wanted to contest elections, and then disrupt the legislative bodies from within, and those who wanted to continue to boycott the polls.

Khilafat Movement Ends, 1924

The Khilafat movement began to lose momentum when the Ottoman Sultan was deposed and banished in 1923. By the end of the year, the Khilafat leadership was in disarray and some of it in disrepute. In March 1924, the Turkish government abolished the Caliphate, eliminating the purpose of the Khilafat movement.

Maulana Azad became president of the Congress party in 1923 and retained this position for many years. He and the other Jami'at-e-Ulema-e-Hind members were necessary to the Congress's claim to represent all groups in the subcontinent.

As the interval of extremism and romanticism began to wane, Jinnah, president of the Muslim League from 1919 to 1930, attempted to revive its central organization and continued to function as an ambassador of Muslim-Hindu unity. But Jinnah played a more important role as leader of the small group of Independents (of various religions), who controlled the balance between the Government and Swarajists in the Central Legislative Council, than he did as president of the Muslim League.

For the next decade neither the Congress nor the Muslim League were important in the affairs of the subcontinent. Political attention

was focussed on those who participated in the various local, provincial and central government bodies.

Fazl-i-Husain's Unionist Party

The single most powerful Muslim constitutional party in the subcontinent at this time was the Unionist Party of the Punjab, formally organized in 1923 by Fazl-i-Husain, who in 1924 became Punjab's Minister of Education and Local Self-government. This party was a coalition of landlords, *pirs* and tribal and *biradari* leaders.

Muslim interests predominated but the party also represented the Hindu Jat peasants of East Punjab. The Unionists continued to dominate Punjab politics from 1923 to 1945. They were happy to have the British controlling the Centre and were determined to take maximum advantage of the provincial autonomy granted by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

The resolutions adopted by the Muslim League in Lahore on 25 May 1924 reflect the dominance of Punjab and provincial politics—they called for a federation of autonomous provinces in the subcontinent, the protection of the Muslims' majority status in Punjab, Bengal and the Frontier and the establishment of a fourth Muslim majority province—Sindh. M.A. Khuhro and G.M. Syed led the movement for the separation of Sindh from Bombay.

Communal Tensions

The 1920s saw an increasing number of Hindu-Muslim riots throughout the subcontinent. Some were caused by conflicts in political or economic interests between groups. Others were mainly the activities of toughs or *goondahs* hired or instigated by militant religious groups. Some Hindu groups, enraged by the sight of Hindu-Muslim co-operation, renewed their conversion campaigns. This led to more Hindu-Muslim riots in 1924.

A Hindu who wrote a book ridiculing the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) was killed in a courtroom by a Muslim from the Hazara District. The Muslim was then executed in Karachi. After this, many Hindu shopkeepers and their families were driven out of Pathan villages.

Riots in Multan and other places in Punjab took 250 lives and left 2,500 injured. In mid-September 1924, after a large riot at Kohat, many Hindus left the area, and Gandhi fasted for 21 days for inter-

communal peace. Communal riots in Calcutta in 1926 left several hundreds dead.

Various explanations have been put forth for the rise in communal tensions. Some blame the social and economic dislocations caused by the First World war. The war brought economic and political gains as well as losses to the subcontinent with increased demands for the subcontinent's goods and opportunities for some industrial development, along with promises of eventual self-government and increased participation at the provincial level.

But it also brought absences, sickness and death, high prices, rationing, and forced contributions to the war effort. These problems did not automatically disappear at the end of the war.

Instead, the sudden lifting of repression and release of tensions expressed themselves in a wave of unrest. When so much was changing so fast—we need only imagine Punjabi villagers being introduced to modern times by being machine-gunned from the air—it is perhaps no wonder that people were so fierce in defending their religious traditions.

Others blame the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms for advancing beyond the 1909 reforms, in giving even more weight and recognition to possible conflicts of interest among the religions. To what extent this was a conscious attempt by the British to divide and rule is still a subject of much debate.

CONCLUSION: 1907-27

One thing that is certain is that the political life of the subcontinent would never be the same after the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements. A deliberate effort was made to arouse the masses throughout the subcontinent. The masses responded by voicing their own concerns with a vigour which frightened everyone.

When these movements collapsed and the leadership could not or would not follow through, people were left directionless. Often, it seems, they took out their frustrations on each other in communal rioting.

By the beginning of Lord Irwin's term as Viceroy in 1926, it seemed that the political energies, both of the leadership and of the man on the street or in the village, had run their gauntlets and either exhausted themselves, or degenerated into communal violence without weakening Britain's hold on the subcontinent.

The people of the subcontinent did make some small concrete gains during this period. The Sikh militants won legal recognition in 1925, for the Singh Sabha, a body elected by adult Sikhs every three years. The hated excise tax on cotton was abolished, although the British attempted to make up the lost revenue by raising the tax on salt. The British accepted in principle the goal of having as many natives as Europeans in the higher government services. The Muslims of the subcontinent took up the causes of gaining equal democratic reforms for the NWFP, and the separation of Sindh.

Some pragmatic political bosses of the provincial and local governments did introduce compulsory primary education in their areas, institutes of higher education, and some rural medical dispensaries. And as the constitutional arrangement was nearing its tenth year reassessment, the politically conscious people of the subcontinent were once more beginning to make plans and demands for their future.

Muhammad Iqbal, 1877-1938

This was a time of cultural flowering in the Punjab, with Abdul Rehman Chughtai the artist and Muhammad Iqbal, the world-renowned poet and philosopher. Iqbal, born in Sialkot in 1873 of a Kashmiri Muslim family, joined Government College, Lahore in 1892, when he was about fifteen years old.

He was admitted to the University of Punjab in 1899, as a McLeod Scholar. A few years later he was back at Government College, now as a lecturer. Having spent his teen and young adult years as a student and teacher in Lahore, Iqbal had become an ardent nationalist by the time of his departure for higher studies to Europe at the age of 28.

In England, Iqbal earned a Tripos in mental and moral sciences at Cambridge and helped to found the Pan-Islamic Society. He received his Doctorate of Philosophy in Munich, Germany and was called to the Bar in England. Then Iqbal returned to Lahore to write poetry, teach philosophy, practise law, and play an important role in the cultural and political life of Lahore.

In 1923, Iqbal received a Knighthood, and from 1926, he represented Lahore in the Punjab Provincial Council. A schoolmate and old friend of Fazl-i-Husain, the leading politician of Punjab, Iqbal experienced the difficulties of Hindu-Muslim co-operation firsthand. His studies, his political experience and his personal

philosophy were all leading Iqbal to conclude that for Muslims religion could not be separated from politics.

While the failure of the Khilafat movement left many Muslims discouraged and aimless, Iqbal was optimistic, not only about experiments with modernization in Muslim countries like Turkey and Afghanistan, but about the crucial role of the subcontinent's Muslims in revitalizing the Muslim world.

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The Idea of Pakistan, 1927-40

Simon Commission

World War I had brought disruption to the subcontinent. The post-war period was one of even greater political and economic upset in Britain, and the reverberations were bound to reach the subcontinent. The Conservatives in England were devoted to preserving the British Empire in all of its glory. Therefore, when it seemed certain that they were about to lose power in England to the Liberals, the Conservatives took steps to ensure the continuation of British rule in the subcontinent for the foreseeable future.

Since the constitutional arrangement for the subcontinent would be coming up for review in a few years, they decided to hasten the process and have it reviewed early by their own men. The Simon Commission was appointed in 1927 to investigate the workings of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and to recommend further changes. Not surprisingly, the Conservative government did not include anyone from the subcontinent in their Commission.

Because they seriously questioned the motivations and intentions of the all-British commission, many parties in the subcontinent decided to boycott it. At its end-of-the-year meeting, the Congress party welcomed Gandhi back to active politics, and adopted complete National Independence as its goal. John Simon and his Commission were greeted everywhere with Congress-organized demonstrations and black flags.

The Muslim League split on the issue of whether to boycott the Commission. Muhammed Shafi of Punjab, who was President of the All-India Muslim League in 1927, wanted to co-operate with the British. Jinnah, along with Liaquat Ali Khan and others, decided to boycott the Simon Commission. Other all-India Muslim organizations and leaders, including Muhammed Ali Jauhar, the Khilafat Conference

and the Jami'at-e-Ulema-e-Hind also boycotted the Simon Commission.

The possibility of a new constitutional arrangement brought back to the limelight the all-India politicians who had in recent years been overshadowed by local bosses. Many of the subcontinent's political leaders were determined to produce their own recommendations for a new constitution.

Negotiations began between the Muslims and Congress. In the spring of 1927, it seemed that a new compromise would be reached, with the Muslims giving up separate electorates in return for various concessions from Congress, including the separation of Sindh from Bombay and democratic reforms for the Frontier.

An All-Parties Conference was convened in Delhi in February 1928, but it was found that the spirit of co-operation expressed in the Lucknow Pact of 1916 no longer existed. Some of the parties wanted not only to abolish separate electorates for minorities like the Muslims, but objected to any other safeguards or progress for the Muslims as well.

Jinnah was distressed, glimpsing the possibility of bloodshed in the future. He warned the All-Parties Conference that a failure to provide constitutional security for the Muslims would result in revolution and civil war, but the orthodox Hindu Mahasabha questioned Jinnah's credentials to speak for the Muslims. Again Jinnah warned, 'If you do not settle this question today, we shall have to settle it tomorrow.'

Nehru Report

A committee of the All-Parties Conference, under the chairmanship of Moti Lal Nehru (father of Jawaharlal Nehru submitted the Nehru Report. The Nehru Report called for a general electorate, with no separate electorates to ensure that minority groups could elect their own representatives. It recommended that the representation of Muslims in the Central Assembly be reduced from one-third to one-fourth, and it rejected the federal form of government in favour of a unitary one.

The Nehru Report was totally unacceptable to almost every Muslim group in the subcontinent. Even Maulana Shaukat Ali and the Jami'at-e-Ulema-e-Hind denounced it. When the amendments proposed by Jinnah to make the Nehru Report acceptable to at least some Muslims

were rejected by Congress in December 1928, Jinnah proceeded to the All-India Muslim Conference, organized by Fazl-i-Husain of Punjab and convened by the Aga Khan.

At the turn of the year, the two Muslim Leagues, the Khilafat Conference and the JUH all called for the various concessions earlier mentioned, plus separate electorates. The Muslim League reunited, and in March, 1929, it reiterated Muslim demands in Jinnah's famous Fourteen Points.

Fourteen Points, 1929

Jinnah's fourteen points called for:

1. A federal, rather than a unitary form of government;
2. electoral safeguards for minorities in every province;
3. equal status for every province;
4. separate electorates for religious and other groups;
5. one-third of the seats in the Central Assembly to be reserved for Muslims;
6. no bill should be passed affecting a particular religion unless three-fourths of the members belonging to that religion agree to it;
7. the Muslim majorities in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP should not be negated by boundary changes;
8. Sindh should be a separate province;
9. NWFP and Balochistan should be included in all reforms;
10. all religions should have freedom of worship, faith, education, assembly and association;
11. there should be a proper number of Muslims in government service;
12. there should be constitutional safeguards for Muslim culture, language, religion, education and welfare institutions;
13. at least one-third of the Ministers in the provinces and at the Centre should be Muslim;
14. the agreement of all the Federating States would be necessary for amending the constitution.

Jawaharlal Nehru

While Mohammad Ali Jinnah was experiencing so much difficulty in convincing Hindus and Muslims to compromise, and was considering a withdrawal from the political arena, another young leader was

emerging. On the surface, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammad Ali Jinnah had much in common.

They were both handsome, sophisticated, and charming. British-educated and extremely articulate in the English language, they both enjoyed being fashionably dressed in Western-style clothes. They were both seen as progressives rather than as traditionalists. Both believed passionately in the equality of all human beings and both struggled to obtain equal opportunities for all.

But while Jinnah believed in the necessity of legal guarantees of equality, Jawaharlal Nehru placed his faith in economic progress. Jawaharlal Nehru saw the British Empire as the single greatest cause of poverty and economic stagnation in the subcontinent. He felt that if the British could be stopped from draining away the wealth and resources of the subcontinent, and from exploiting the impoverished population, development could begin and prosperity would increase.

Nehru felt that religious tensions were caused by economic stringencies, and that once these were removed, religious problems would disappear. Therefore, Nehru could not understand why the political system for the subcontinent could not be copied directly from the Western democracies.

He called for a strong, secular state with one electorate. The extremist Hindus were happy to back his demand for one electorate, since once they had a Hindu majority, they believed they could establish a Hindu, rather than a secular state.

The Communists

Another group that emphasized economic progress was the Communist Party of India, which attempted to provide leadership for the workers and peasants who were suffering from the worldwide economic downturn. When the world's agricultural prices fell at the end of the War, the subcontinent, with its strongly agricultural economy, was badly affected. The Communist Party was also successful in organizing trade unions in the subcontinent's new industries.

In March 1929, the government tried to stifle the movement by arresting thirty-one activists for conspiracy to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty. The trial-without-jury dragged on for four years, bringing much popularity to both the Communists and their defense lawyer, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Dada Mir Haider, born in a small village on Punjab's Potwar Plateau, went to sea as a young man with the merchant marine. He travelled the world and became an international labour organizer and revolutionary, described by one British intelligence manual as the most dangerous of the subcontinent's leftists, not because of any fondness for violence, but because of his working class identity and ceaseless efforts. He was accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, but escaped by sea and was soon back in the subcontinent, organizing workers.

Second Non-co-operation Movement, 1930

Congress, under the new leadership of its youngest president, Jawaharlal Nehru, was in a militant mood at its annual meeting, held in Lahore. It refused to participate in the upcoming discussions of the Simon Report unless the British promised Dominion Status (like Canada or Australia) in the new Constitution.

When the British refused, the Second Civil Disobedience Movement was launched. The Indian, National Flag was hoisted and 26 January 1930 was unilaterally proclaimed Independence Day.

Congress demands also included the prohibition of alcohol, the repeal of land taxes, the reduction of the military budget, adjustments in Civil Service salaries, freedom for political prisoners, and the right of natives to carry arms. When the British refused to grant any of these demands, Gandhi began his Salt March to the sea, to make home-made salt in defiance of the British Salt Tax. The Salt March of May 1930 caught the world's imagination, and its participants had the world's sympathy when 60,000 to 90,000 people were arrested. Repression was especially severe in the Frontier.

Frontier Disturbances

In the Frontier, the Khilafat Committees had been replaced by an Afghan *Jirga* system. All the villages in the Peshawar District had elected jirgas which functioned as a parallel administration to the British government. Its activists called themselves Khudai, Khidmatgars Servants of God, and made themselves uniforms by dying their shirts with brick dust. The British called them 'Red Shirts', and worried that the red was for Communism.

The Khudai Khidmatgar leader was the young landlord Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan). He was typical of the junior Khans. After years of British patronage, the more senior Khans could no longer command the respect of the less prominent families. The Khudai Khidmatgar leaders established contact with Gandhi and the Congress party in 1929.

They were also in contact with tribal dissidents, especially the Mohmands. The Khan brothers were related by marriage to the Mohmand leader, Haji of Turangzai. (In 1929 the Shirwanis, Wazirs, Mohmands and several other tribes participated in the rebellion against the Afghan ruler, Amanullah, which led to the installation of Nadir Shah on the Afghan throne.)

The Khudai Khidmatgar *jirgas* took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement, by picketing liquor shops. On 23 April 1930, Bacha Khan and his associates were arrested for 'fomenting unrest'. Thousands of people in the Peshawar Valley immediately dyed their shirts red. Troops and tanks entered the city. An armoured car was set on fire, and a British soldier was killed.

The Royal Garwal Rifles were ordered to open fire on a crowd in the Qissa Khwani Bazaar. When they refused to fire, they were disarmed and removed by British troops. With no warning to disperse, the British soldiers opened fire and continued to fire from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. More than a hundred people were killed. The city was put under military rule and a curfew was enforced. There was more firing at Takkae (Mardan) in May and at Hathi Khel (Bannu) in June.

By July, the entire Working Committee of the Congress party, including Gandhi, was under arrest, more than one hundred people had been killed and four hundred injured.

Anti-British feeling united the townsmen and tribesmen of the Frontier. The tribesmen around Peshawar invaded the district, with the Afridis twice reaching the outskirts of the city. The Viceroy declared martial law in the Peshawar District in August, 1930. The Garwal troops (who had refused to fire) were sentenced to ten to twenty years of imprisonment.

In Sindh, the Civil Disobedience Movement led to communal tensions. Only Hindus were involved in the movement, and it was mostly students who were active. In August, a rumour circulated that the British government would not mind Hindus being attacked. In the Sukkur District, Muslim toughs murdered and looted Hindus in many towns and villages for several days.

First Round Table Conference

The Simon Commission Report was completed in the beginning of 1930. Jinnah and others had urged that representatives of the subcontinent, who had not been included in the Simon Commission, should be invited by the British to discuss its Report.

The First Round Table Conference was held in London from November 1930 to January 1931. The Congress had announced a boycott of the Round Table Conference when the British refused to promise that the future constitution would provide immediate dominion status. The Muslim delegates, including Jinnah, Muhammed Shafi of Punjab, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum of the Frontier and the Aga Khan travelled to London.

Fazl-i-Husain of Punjab, who had been named to the Viceroy's Executive Council, did not attend the Conference, but sent advice to the Muslim delegates from India. He wanted the Muslims to concentrate on maintaining Punjab's Muslim majority, and the separation of rural and urban electorates rather than on discussing the future form of the central government.

Iqbal's Allahabad Address

While the Round Table delegates were conferring in London and the Congress leaders were in prison for their Civil Disobedience movement, Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) delivered the Presidential Address of the annual meeting of the Muslim League in December 1930. In his address Iqbal suggested that the final destiny of the Muslims of the northwestern provinces of India was to form a consolidated Indian Muslim State within an all-India federation of autonomous states. The Muslim League was not yet ready to formulate a resolution proposing a Muslim state, but the idea was planted in many minds.

Muslims everywhere were saddened by the death, in London, of the fiery Islamic patriot, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar in January 1931. The first session of the Round Table Conference ended by recommending that the NWFP should be made a Governor's Province. It called for a federal form of government, but the British considered its deliberations fairly meaningless in the absence of the Congress party.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 1931

The British decided to negotiate with Gandhi. His release from prison and his meetings with the Viceroy Lord Irwin resulted in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 5 March 1931. Gandhi agreed to end the Civil Disobedience movement. Like the Non-co-operation movement of 1920-22, the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 also ended with communal rioting, this time in Kanpur, UP, where as many as one thousand Muslims were killed.

Bacha Khan of the Frontier was released, along with many other detainees. Instead of ending, however, the agitation increased in the Frontier area. By late summer 1931, even the traditionally loyal Khans were withholding revenue, and a few were turning the revenue payments over to the Khudai Khidmatgars.

Dr. Khan Sahib's son was arrested for failing to make revenue payments, and this convinced some of the Khans to co-operate with the government, but the peasants remained firm in their struggle. In 1931, the Khudai Khidmatgars formally affiliated themselves with the Congress party.

British concern about Communist influence in the Frontier continued with the arrest of M.N. Roy in Peshawar in 1931.

Another attempt to deal with leftist organizers was the Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1931. Three of the accused were executed in March 1931, including the twenty-four year old Baghat Singh of Lahore, popular leader and socialist scholar since his early teens.

Second Round Table Conference

Gandhi agreed to attend the second session of the Round Table Conference in London (September 1931 to January 1932) as the representative of the Congress party. Iqbal, the Aga Khan and Jinnah represented the Muslims. The minority leaders, excepting the Sikhs but including the scheduled castes, demanded separate electorates for their groups. This Minorities Pact marked the climax of the Aga Khan's political career.

One important result of the Second Round Table Conference was that Jinnah and Iqbal met and talked. Although they had disagreements, they got to know and respect each other. Like Jinnah, Iqbal had studied abroad, practised law and entered politics as a nationalist believer in progress and Hindu-Muslim unity. They both

agreed that a strong central government in the subcontinent would be a danger to the Muslims.

Jinnah and Iqbal, however, had opposite and complementary personalities. Jinnah's cool, legalistic caution was matched by Iqbal's religious patriotic passion. In the Congress Party, Gandhi, the elderly Hindu holy man, was balanced by the young Jawaharlal Nehru, the secular socialist. Jinnah and Iqbal were not as far apart in ideology as Nehru and Gandhi, and they were both the same age, but they did complement and balance each other.

Iqbal had arrived older and later in Europe than had Jinnah. He had observed a quickly changing world situation, followed a different course of studies, and participated in different activities. If Nehru was concerned with economic equality and Jinnah with civil rights, Iqbal, poet and philosopher, was concerned with maintaining and enhancing the Muslims' cultural identity, which he believed would provide guidance in devising new economic and political systems.

The Second Round Table Conference ended in an impasse when Gandhi opposed the recognition of the scheduled castes as a community separate from the Hindus.

More Disorder

At the end of 1931, the British held a Durbar to introduce the reforms proposed for the Frontier, but the Khudai Khidmatgars demanded complete self-government and scheduled a mass meeting for New Year's Day, 1932. On 26 December the British banned the Khudai Khidmatgars and arrested their leadership.

Troops and police destroyed Khudai Khidmatgar centres. Around one thousand local leaders were taken into custody. In Kohat, troops fired on Khudai Khidmatgar activists, killing fourteen and wounding thirty. The combination of promised reforms and severe repression worked this time, and within six weeks, the militants had been suppressed, while the urban intelligentsia turned its attention to legal politics.

Gandhi was rearrested soon after, and the Congress party was outlawed. Throughout the subcontinent, some 80,000 people went to jail during the 1932 Civil Disobedience campaign. On 13 January 1932, Jinnah telegraphed Abdullah Haroon in Karachi, warning him not to play into the hands of either the extremists or the officials.

Communal Award, 1932

Since the delegates from the subcontinent could not reach any agreement, the British drew up their own plan to safeguard the interests of the various groups. This award was helpful to the Muslims who lived in Muslim-majority areas. It preserved separate electorates at both the central and provincial levels for the Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, depressed classes and people from backward areas.

To the satisfaction of the Unionist Party in Punjab, it protected the Muslims' majority in Punjab and Bengal, and it preserved special seats for the different economic classes. Commerce and industry, agriculture, the professions and labour could all vote for their own representatives.

Sindh would become a separate province, and with the completion of the Lloyd (now Sukkur) Barrage in 1932, it was hoped that it would also become self-supporting. With this extension of what was already the most ambitious irrigation system in the world, cultivated acreage in Sindh increased from 400,000 to 700,000 acres between 1932 and 1934, and cotton production more than tripled.

The North-west Frontier Province was now theoretically on a par with the other provinces of the subcontinent. The new Frontier Legislative Council met in November 1932, with Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, a retired civil servant, who had worked hard to bring equal status to the Frontier as sole minister in charge of Transferred Departments. Qayyum was able and honest, but he was not popular. He had little power, no political ties, and was considered a puppet of the British.

No reforms were scheduled for Balochistan where Mahmud Khan, debauched puppet ruler of Balochistan since 1893, died without an heir in 1931, and was succeeded by his brother Mir Muhammed Azam Jan, an old pro-Russian stalwart of the Quit Balochistan movement and an ally of the Ali brothers, had spent several decades in exile or in confinement.

By the time of his accession, Mir Azam Jan was a tired, bitter old man. He lived for only two more years. The major event of his reign was the completion in 1932 of the Kirthar Canal. The irrigated acreage was devoted to growing cotton.

Poona Pact

The Congress party accused the British of trying to widen the divisions in the society through the Communal Award by the recognition of the scheduled castes as a separate group. Gandhi announced a fast, promising that if the scheduled castes would drop their demand for separate representation, he would see to it that they received more seats than the British had allotted them. Dr Ambedkar, leader of the scheduled castes, agreed on the condition that scheduled caste members could be counted as Hindus, and the British amended their Communal Award to reflect this agreement.

Third Round Table Conference, 1932

The Cambridge student Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali, coiner of the name PAKISTAN, distributed his pamphlet *Now or Never,* in which he went a step further than Iqbal's address. He called for a federal state encompassing the Punjab (P), the Frontier or Afghania (A), Kashmir (K), Sindh (S) and Balochistan (STAN). His proposal was dismissed by the delegates as a 'student's scheme', but the word PAKISTAN was soon being used to refer to the Muslim-majority areas in the north-west subcontinent.

The Conservatives, who were now back in power in England, considered Jinnah to be anti-British because of his determination to attain equal rights and self-government for the people of the subcontinent. Therefore, Jinnah was not invited to the third conference, although he helped informally. Discouraged with the intransigence of both the Congress party and his fellow Muslims, Jinnah had by now purchased a house, begun to practise law and decided to settle permanently in England.

The gulfs between the various political positions had grown so wide that it was impossible even for Jinnah to bridge them. At one extreme, some of the Muslim political bosses were solely concerned with their local interests. Relying upon the British to protect them indefinitely from the Hindu majority, they pulled the Muslim League away from compromise. At the other extreme, pulling the Congress away from compromise were the orthodox Hindus, who made no secret of their determination to dominate the Muslims, or of their willingness to indulge in communal violence.

When a delegation including Jinnah's Oxford-educated friend Liaquat Ali Khan and Liaquat's wife, Begum Raana, tried to persuade

Jinnah to return, he was reluctant, asking whether the Muslim League had a programme, an ideal, a direction. But Jinnah could not lose interest in the fate of his countrymen. He visited the subcontinent several times. In March 1934, he was re-elected president of the Muslim League, and at the end of the year he was elected to the legislative assembly.

Government of India Act, 1935

The Simon Commission, the Nehru Report, the Fourteen Points, the Round Table Conferences and the Communal Award were all part of the preparations of the reformed Constitution, which was set out in the Act of 1935. This act granted almost complete self-government and substantial autonomy to the provinces. It envisioned a federal form of government, with one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature reserved for Muslims, and one-third for nominees of the Indian princes. The number of qualified voters would be increased drastically.

Neither the Muslim League nor the Congress were entirely satisfied with the Act of 1935, since the British still retained much power at the centre. But the nature of politics in the subcontinent was about to change in three fundamental ways. The balance of decision-making power in the provinces would no longer be with the British, but with the elected representatives, and the day was approaching when the British would also relinquish power at the centre. For the first time, many ordinary people, not just the elite, would be allowed to vote.

Some Muslim leaders, like Jinnah, Iqbal, the Aga Khan and Fazl-ul-Haq of Bengal decided that political parties must now offer the people programmes for the solutions of their problems. Social status and networks of personal relationships would no longer be enough to bring victory at the polls.

Jinnah, Iqbal and Maulana Shaukat Ali among others also concluded that the Muslims of the subcontinent must now learn to stand together. Condemned to permanent minority status at the centre, the Muslims must make sure that their one-third of the votes would always be as united and strong as possible, if there was to be any hope of safeguarding the rights and interests of the Muslim community.

Therefore, in October 1935, Jinnah sold his London home and returned to the subcontinent to once more assume a dominant role in

Muslim League affairs. Jinnah set up a Muslim League Parliamentary Board to select candidates to contest the 1936 elections on a united platform under the banner of the All-India Muslim League. An election platform was drawn up, calling for measures to deal with the difficult economic situation the subcontinent found itself in, after years of colonial exploitation and in the midst of a worldwide Depression.

Punjab

Unfortunately, many of the Muslim provincial politicians were not willing or able to change. Fazl-i-Husain, for instance, who had accomplished so much for Punjab, was now unwell. He wanted to preserve all the privileges of the Punjabi rural elite and he thought that the Muslims could continue to depend upon the British for protection against a Congress-dominated central government.

If Fazl-i-Husain represented the great landowning families of Punjab, Iqbal represented many Muslims in the towns and cities. Both the educated middle class Muslims and the Muslim artisans and labourers often shared a strong cultural identification with the Islamic world, uncomplicated by the elites' feelings of loyalty for and dependence upon the British.

Iqbal's visit to Afghanistan in 1934, at the invitation of his friend the king Nadir Shah, to help devise a system of education suited to the genius of the Afghan people, was typical of Iqbal's continued interest in Pan-Islamic affairs. Iqbal wanted the next meeting of the All-India Muslim League to be held in Lahore, hoping that it would launch a movement to protest the situation in Palestine and the destruction of the Shaheed Ganj mosque in Lahore.

By 1935, Iqbal had grown impatient with the Unionist Party, which he thought was widening the gap between the towns and the countryside, and with his old friend Fazl-i-Husain, whom he accused of discouraging fresh new leadership. In the last year of his life, Fazl-i-Husain refused to preside over the 1936 meeting of the Muslim League, and when Jinnah visited Lahore in April, he offered him no encouragement.

Iqbal was now recognized as the head of the Provincial Muslim League in Punjab. Although he and Jinnah did not agree on everything (the All-India Muslim League, which did not meet in Lahore, passed resolutions on the Shaheed Ganj Mosque and Palestine but suggested

no action), Iqbal was Jinnah's pillar of support during the discouraging and uphill battle to unite the Muslims.

Fazl-i-Husain passed away on 8 August 1936. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, whose family had been stalwarts of the British Raj since the Mutiny, and who had been acting governor of the Punjab in 1932, now became the leader of the Unionist Party. Ahmed Yar Daultana, Secretary of the Unionist Party, tried, unsuccessfully, to patch up the differences. He said that it would be very unfortunate if Jinnah and Iqbal were to end up on one side, and he and Sir Sikandar Hayat on the other.

The Frontier

At the beginning of 1936, there were communal disturbances in the Frontier, first in reaction to a court order that Islam Bibi, the converted wife of a Bannu Pathan, be returned to her Hindu family, and then in protest against the destruction of the Shaheed Ganj mosque in Lahore. Ignoring the Congress party line, the Khudai Khitdmatgars used these issues to complain about the inaction of the interim government under Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum.

In Waziristan, the Faqir of Ipi declared a *jehad* for the return of Islam Bibi to her husband. Serious disturbances continued for the next several years, and the Daurs of the Tochi Valley began to threaten Bannu. The British built a new road to get at the hideouts of the rebels. This resulted in a major battle at the end of 1936, with heavy casualties on both sides.

The British spent more than five million pounds but never won the Waziristan Campaign, which would continue through 1938. The Faqir of Ipi was never captured, remaining the Frontier's most notorious hostile until his death in 1960. Meanwhile, Bacha Khan was externed from the Frontier, and the Khudai Khidmatgars were banned, adding greatly to their popularity.

When Jinnah travelled to Peshawar in 1936, very few people attended his public meeting. The Muslim League had made its influence felt through a Buy Muslim campaign, but the best organized, most dynamic group in the new province was the Khudai Khidmatgars, and they had joined the Congress party.

The Muslim League tried to build its support among those who opposed the Khudai Khidmatgars for reasons of ethnic differences or factional rivalry. It recruited its leadership from personal rivals of the

Khudai Khidmatgar leaders and began to organize among the (often non-Pakhtun) Muslim townsmen.

Sindh

In the new province of Sindh, the old style politics of personal and family rivalries held sway, and Jinnah's All-India Muslim League received little support. No one was even willing to host Jinnah when he visited Sindh, and everyone assured him that the Muslim League would not be able to win a single seat in Sindh.

There were three Muslim parties. The Sindh United Party under Abdullah Haroon was similar to the Unionist Party of the Punjab. The others were the Azad Party of Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and the Muslim Party of Sir Ghulam Hussain. There were no big differences in policies between the parties; personal rivalries kept them apart.

Balochistan

Balochistan would not be participating in the provincial elections, but the Khan of Kalat asked Mohammad Ali Jinnah for assistance in making Balochistan a modern state. In 1933, at the age of 31, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan had been declared Khan of Kalat at the death of his father, Mir Azam Jan.

1935 and 1936, were eventful years for Balochistan and the young Khan of Kalat. A terrible earthquake levelled Quetta and killed 23,000 people. The ancient Fort of Kalat with its thousand chambers, was razed to the ground. The Khan got an oath of loyalty from his State Council and tribal Sardars which he considered legitimized his rule in Balochistan, but the British were determined that he should remain a mere figurehead. The Khan performed Haj, and visited Iraq, Palestine and Egypt. He returned determined to make Balochistan into a modern state, and hired Jinnah as Legal Advisor.

The Khan wanted Britain to honour its 1876 treaty, granting him authority over the Baloch tribal territories and recognizing Balochistan as a friendly neighboring state with special treaty ties to the British Empire. He wanted the British to approve a parliament with upper and lower assemblies from which cabinet members would be drawn. The leader of the cabinet would be the Prime Minister, and the Khan of Kalat would become a Constitutional head of state.

Bengal and UP

In Bengal, H.S. Suhrawardy (1893-1963) merged his United Muslim Party with the Muslim League in June 1936. But the largest Muslim party in Bengal, and the one with the most promising platform, was the Krishak Proja, or Workers and Peasants Party. It had been organized in 1929 by Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq (1873-1962), the first Muslim mayor of Calcutta (1935-6). Unlike the Muslim political leaders of Sindh and Punjab, Fazl-ul-Haq was not closely tied to the big landowners. He expressed sympathy with the Muslim League's aims, but refused to unite under its banner.

Even in the UP, headquarters of the Muslim League, Jinnah's fellow progressive, Liaquat Ali Khan, did not run for election on a Muslim League ticket. This was because the other UP Muslim Leaguers, and to a certain extent, Jinnah himself, were labelled as being anti-British, close to the Congress party, and still anxious for Muslim-Hindu unity.

Elections, 1937

There was truth in these labels. The economic programmes of the Muslim League and the Congress borrowed heavily from each other, and Jinnah hoped that the Congress and the Muslim League would form coalition governments in some provinces, particularly the UP and Bombay. Jinnah was still working for Muslim-Hindu unity.

Jinnah was now trying to unite the Muslims so that they could co-operate successfully from a position of strength. But Jinnah had only six months in which to organize for the elections, and his fellow Muslims were not yet convinced of the overriding need for unity.

The provincial elections took place in February and March 1937. Jawaharlal Nehru had succeeded in focusing the elections on British exploitation of Indian poverty. The Congress party won 70 per cent of the popular votes and all of the general seats, but very few of the Muslim seats. The Muslim League won less than 5 per cent of the popular vote and less than one-quarter of the separate Muslim seats.

Only in Bengal and the UP was the Muslim League at all successful. The Congress won power in the UP, because of its seven to one Hindu majority, but many Muslims gave their votes to the Muslim League, rather than to the Congress or to the aristocratic, pro-British Agriculturalist Party. In Bengal, the Muslim League was

able to form a coalition government with the Krishak Proja party and some Hindus. Fazl-ul-Haq became Chief Minister, and the position of the Muslims in Bengal would greatly improve over the next five years, after years of Congress interference.

Other Muslim parties won power in the rest of the Muslim-majority provinces, except for the NWFP, where Bacha Khan's Khudai Khidmatgars had contested the elections as part of the Congress party. No Muslim Leaguer was elected in the Frontier or in Sindh. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, leader of the National Unionist Party, became Premier of Punjab. Only two Muslim League candidates were elected in Punjab, and one of them crossed over to the Unionists.

The Congress was in a position to form ministries in the Hindu-majority provinces, but Jinnah expected Congress to include distinguished Muslims in its provincial governments for the sake of co-operation and good will, just as it was customary in Muslim-majority areas to include Hindus and Sikhs in the ministries. It was the attitude and behaviour of the Congress party after the 1937 elections which turned Jinnah from an idealist into a political realist.

Although Jinnah had not yet been able to substantiate his claim to leadership of the Muslims, it had been shown that the Congress did not represent the Muslims at all. But instead of deciding to come to terms with those Muslims who were willing to co-operate—Jinnah and the Muslim League—Congress declined to form coalitions with the Muslim Leaguers anywhere, unless they disbanded and were absorbed by the Congress party. Nehru dismissed the Muslim League as a handful of the upper class and stated that there were only two parties in India, the Congress and the British Raj.

Jinnah insisted that the Muslim League was a third party, and should rightfully be an equal partner with the Congress, but by now he had concluded that, 'Appeals to patriotism, justice and fair play and for goodwill fall flat ... Politics means power and not relying on cries of justice or fair play or goodwill.'

Once in power, from 1937 to 1939, the Congress ministries in the Hindu-majority areas confirmed the Muslims' fears. They were corrupt, discriminatory and terribly insensitive. Hindi replaced Urdu as the language of provincial governments and the medium of instruction. Gandhi's picture hung everywhere, and Congress party flags flew from public buildings. An anti-Mughal poem, written by a Hindu extremist, was adopted as the national anthem. Particularly in the UP, the Muslim elites were shocked to find their power,

laboriously built up since the days of Sir Sayyid, suddenly lost to Congress.

In Muslim-majority provinces, the Congress continued its spoiler's role, working against whatever ministries were in power to try to bring them down. Congress planned a door-to-door recruitment drive to win Muslim support on economic lines.

The Congress hoped to win even more power when elections would be held for the central legislature. It had made a good start at organizing in many of the princely states and was pressing the princes to fill their seats by elections, which the Congress hoped to win.

Muslim League Reorganizes

The consequences of the 1937 election convinced most of the subcontinent's Muslim political leaders that the unity preached by Jinnah was indeed necessary. They agreed with Jinnah that the only way to achieve equal rights for the Muslims in the subcontinent was to force the Congress to recognize the League on a footing of perfect equality. In the autumn of 1937, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan of the Punjab, Fazl-ul-Haq of Bengal and Sir Saad Ullah of Assam announced that they would instruct the Muslim members of their parties to join the Muslim League.

The Muslim leaders now also realized that they must begin planning for the day when the British would no longer be in power. At the Lucknow meeting, the Muslim League adopted 'full independence' for India as its creed. Under Jinnah's direction, the Muslim League grew from a few thousand members in 1937 to several hundred thousand in 1938, and continued to gather support from Muslims of all classes.

The Frontier

In the Frontier, for instance, the Muslim League recruited both from the senior Khan families—the former stalwarts of the British Raj, and from the non-Pakhtun Muslim townsmen and residents of Hazara and other non-Pakhtun areas. Politicians of all sorts visited the area, including Maulana Shaukat Ali of the Muslim League, Inayatullah Khan, leader of the Muslim para-military group, the Khaksars, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad of the Congress party. Gandhi visited twice during 1938, and held a political conference in the Shahi Bagh in Peshawar.

The Frontier area was now firmly involved in the politics of the subcontinent, rather than Afghanistan. But tribal armed struggle also continued. The Faqir of Ipi had continued to harass, ambush and kill Englishmen and raid Hindus in villages. In April 1937, in response to a two month British campaign, Ipi moved south. In the autumn and winter, he attacked British communications. In spite of bombing raids and offers of rewards, it took ten thousand troops just to keep communications open.

In the spring of 1938, Ipi attacked South Waziristan using artillery of unknown origin, and in July, he attacked Bannu, looting and killing Hindus. The British devoted forty thousand troops during two months in 1938, but even their air raids couldn't reach Ipi in his caves in the rough terrain near the Afghan border. There were no large-scale battles after 1938, but in the last decade of British rule, security was weaker than ever before.

Punjab

Students and journalists played an important role in mobilizing public support for the League. In Punjab, the admirers and younger colleagues of Iqbal carried on his work for the League, but Iqbal himself, nearly blind and slowly dying, thought that even more radical changes were necessary. He felt that, in spite of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact of 1937, the Unionists' allegiance to the League was only half-hearted.

Iqbal warned Jinnah against reliance on the great landowning families; 'The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or the Muslim masses who have so far, with excellent reason, taken no interest in it.' He was concerned that the economic plight of the ordinary Muslim was worsening.

He was even more concerned for the preservation of the cultural identity of the Muslims. Iqbal (like Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, the Aga Khan and many other Muslim leaders of the time) assumed that a modern Muslim society, free from outside domination, would be one of egalitarian justice. He thought that economic reform would follow cultural consolidation.

Iqbal now urged more strongly than ever that, 'A separate federation of Muslim provinces, formed on the lines I have suggested, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save

Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of north-west India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?'

Deaths of Iqbal and Maulana Shaukat Ali, 1938

On 21 April 1938, Iqbal died. Jinnah sorely missed Iqbal's support and advice. He published Iqbal's letters which had been such a source of encouragement over the past difficult decade. Jinnah's increasingly pragmatic approach to politics has been attributed mainly to the intransigence of the Congress, and specifically, of Jawaharlal Nehru. It is impossible to speculate what influence Iqbal would have had if he had lived longer.

The end of 1938 saw the death of another veteran Muslim militant, Maulana Shaukat Ali, who had graduated from participating in student politics at Aligarh to being one of the founders of the Muslim League. In the words of Jinnah, 'Maulana Shaukat Ali never swerved by an inch from the path he had chosen and served the cause of the Muslim League with unflagging zeal to the very last.'

Maulana Shaukat Ali and his brother, Maulana Muhammed Ali Jauhar, had, unlike Jinnah, been leaders of the Khilafat Movement. But after the Nehru Report, Maulana Shaukat Ali, like Iqbal, had been a pillar of strength to Jinnah in his campaign to reorganize the Muslim League.

Sindh Conference, 1938

In Sindh, disunity among the Muslims continued, and Sindhi Muslim Leaguers, including G.M. Syed and Pir Ali Mohammed Rashidi, hoped that Jinnah could convince their fellow politicians of the need for Muslim unity. Twenty thousand delegates gathered in Karachi in October 1938, for a conference held by the Sindh branch of the Muslim League. Jinnah rode from the railway station in an open limousine at the head of a procession three miles long.

In the eight years since the Allahabad address, the subcontinent's Muslims had given much thought to the practical implementation of Iqbal's dream of a Muslim homeland. At this conference the Sindhi Muslim Leaguers, including M.H. Gazdar, Shaikh Abdul Majid, and especially, Abdullah Haroon, resolved that it was

absolutely essential, in the interests of an abiding peace in the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment and political self-determination of the two nations, known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to the All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire conception of what should be the suitable constitution for India which will secure honourable and legitimate status to them.

Jinnah had successfully discouraged Abdullah Haroon from introducing the idea of independent federations in his resolution, but this was the first official enunciation of the two-nation theory—that the Muslims of the subcontinent constituted a nationality.

At the All-India annual session in December 1938, it was agreed that the Act of 1935 had been shown insufficient to protect the rights of the Muslims. A committee was set up to examine the different schemes which were being suggested as alternatives to this constitution. Abdullah Haroon remained central in this planning.

Outside the League, Maulana Maudoodi and other Muslims were also discussing similar alternatives, although they rejected the League's suitability to lead such a Muslim homeland.

Masjid Manzilgah, 1939

Hindu leaders interfered in the affairs of a mosque in the Sukkur area of Sindh, setting off Hindu-Muslim riots in July 1939. Abdul Sattar Pirzada, the chief parliamentary secretary, resigned in protest. Many prominent Muslim Sindhi leaders including G.M. Syed were jailed. On Syed's release, the Allah Bux ministry in Sindh was toppled.

The new Muslim League ministry released all prisoners, restored the mosque to the Muslims and constituted a tribunal to determine the causes of the riots and whether Manzilgah was a mosque. (A British Justice eventually ruled in favour of the Muslims and against the Hindus.)

World War II, 1939-45

World War II began in Europe in September 1939. The British set up tank traps in the Khyber and Kurram Passes, and no one dared cross them. Afghanistan remained neutral through the war, although it had cordial relations with Britain's enemy Germany. The Italian and German missions in Kabul made half-hearted efforts to rouse the tribes, and two Germans died trying to contact the Faqir of Ipi.

As they had during the Great Revolt and World War I, the people of the Frontier remained relatively quiet during World War II, perhaps because fewer British troops in sight meant less provocation. The garrisons were not removed, but many troops were transferred from NWFP to Burma.

The Viceroy declared war against Germany and began to meet with the leaders of the subcontinent, including Gandhi and Jinnah. The legislatures of Punjab, Sindh and Bengal pledged support to the war effort, but Congress demanded a definition of war aims and an immediate declaration of independence. The League made its support dependent upon justice for Muslims in Congress provinces and a guarantee of no constitutional advance without League approval.

The Viceroy promised dominion status after the war with due regard to minority opinions. These promises did not satisfy Congress, and the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned, including Dr. Khan Sahib's government in the NWFP. The Muslim League declared 22 December 1939 as a 'Day of Deliverance' from Congress misrule, and other minority parties joined in this celebration. Several committees drew up reports on Congress excesses.

The Lahore Resolution, 1940

Throughout 1939, the League Working Committee had considered many different constitutional schemes. Many Muslim leaders, including Sir Shah Nawaz, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Sir Abdul Latif, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Mian Bashir Ahmed, Liaquat Ali Khan and a group of scholars from Aligarh contributed to the deliberations. The plan eventually evolved by the committee envisioned an autonomous homeland encompassing 72 per cent of the Muslim population and one-third of the land mass of the subcontinent.

Popular support for the Muslim League had increased dramatically. Liaquat Ali Khan estimated that it had about three million members at the end of 1939. (The Congress claimed five million members.) By inviting the Quaid for consultations on co-operation in the war effort, the Viceroy had recognized him as spokesman for the Muslims.

The British had announced that the federal part of the 1935 Act would not be implemented due to the hesitations of the princes and the distractions of the war. The Congress's demands for immediate independence amplified the urgency of planning for the Muslims' future.

On 22 March 1940, Jinnah addressed a public meeting in Lahore attended by a hundred thousand people. The site has now been commemorated with the Minar-i-Pakistan. Drawing especially from the contributions of Lahore's Bashir Ahmed and the Aligarh scholars, Jinnah declared,

> Muslims are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood...Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory, and their state.

The Lahore Resolution was passed on 23 March 1940, in the midst of ongoing studies and discussions. Designed to accommodate different Muslim points of view and leave room for negotiation with the British and Congress, it was phrased in general terms. It stated in part,

> that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

The speech was given worldwide attention, and the Indian newspapers gave headlines to what they dubbed The Pakistan Resolution. Although neither speech nor resolution had used the word Pakistan, everyone understood that the history of the subcontinent had just taken a new turn. And in Pakistan today, 23 March is celebrated as a national holiday.

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Toward Independence, 1940-47

August Offer, 1940

Since most of the subcontinent's Muslims were sympathetic with Britain's war aims, it was difficult to insist upon unity and discipline in negotiations over co-operating with the British war effort. The Quaid-i-Azam and most, but not all, of the League considered this unity absolutely necessary for the future position of the Muslims. The June resolutions of the League Working Committee were passed over Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's vigorous objections.

The Working Committee resolved that the League must receive half the seats in any new wartime central or provincial governments (and more if the Congress refused to participate). It gave the Quaid authorization to negotiate with the Viceroy or the Congress and it forbade League members to serve on war committees without the Quaid-i-Azam's permission.

The Viceroy now consulted with the Quaid-i-Azam and promised 'that no interim or final scheme of new constitution would be adopted by the British government without the permission of Muslim India,' but he did not agree to equal or majority League membership in the proposed Defence Council. Because of this, the Working Committee rejected this August Offer, withdrew the Muslim League's elected members from the Central Legislature, and demanded Muslim Leaguers' resignations from the Defence Council.

The premiers of Bengal, Punjab and Assam did resign, but the two Leaguers who disobeyed were expelled for five years. One, Begum Shah Nawaz, had worked closely with Jinnah during the Round Table Conferences, and her expulsion was a serious but fortunately temporary loss to the League; she rejoined as soon as possible.

Disturbances, 1940, 1941

In Sindh, Pir Pagaro declared a *jehad* against the British in 1940. His followers, the Hurs, began to kill Englishmen. Unrest spread in the Districts of Sanghar, Nawabshah, Mirpurkhas, Sukkur and Hyderabad Sindh. Martial law was declared, the entire area was cordoned off and people were herded into concentration camps without food or water. Crops, homes, and villages were burnt, and Pir-jo-Goth was bombarded. Pir Pagaro was jailed in Hyderabad.

A movement of individual *satyagraha*, or courting of arrest was begun by the Congress in October 1940. Several Congress party leaders, including Nehru and Subhas Bose, were arrested. Bose escaped and crossed the northern subcontinent in disguise. In Kabul, he was given an Italian passport and flown to the Soviet Union.

By mid-1941, some 20,000 people had been arrested, and terrorism had revived in Bengal, encouraged by radio broadcasts from Bose, who was now in Germany. It is thought that some Afghani currency may have found its way to the Faqir in 1941, but the British limited themselves to a few bombing raids and convoys against him until the end of their rule.

Cripps Mission, 1942

On 7 December 1941, the Japanese attacked the American base of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, the Philippine Islands and Malaya. The fall of Singapore to the Japanese on 15 February 1942, and the humiliating surrender of 60,000 Indian troops greatly increased British fears that Japan could invade India. The British decided to send a high level mission to the subcontinent to negotiate for its peoples' continued support in the war effort.

The British Indian army had more than doubled since the beginning of World War II, and the largest faction of its more than one million troops were Muslims. Therefore, the British knew that they had to be sensitive to Muslim opinion. Any promise to the Muslims, however, was likely to alarm the Sikhs who constituted the second largest group in the army.

In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps promised freedom at the end of the war. There would be a constitution-making assembly, and the provinces would be free to join or leave the Indian Union. The Quaid-i-Azam met with Cripps and told him that he would deliver the offer

to his Working Committee, but before the Muslim League Committee could consider the offer, the Congress had rejected it as it did not grant immediate power.

The Quaid now pointed out to his Committee that the 'entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognized', and that the offer was attempting to 'evade the real issues' by speaking in terms of 'provinces, which are mere accidents of British policy, and administrative divisions'. 'The Committee, while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognized by implication', regretfully rejected the offer.

The Second Hur Rebellion, 1942

The Hurs again agitated, in early 1942, for the release of their Pir, but he was sent into detention outside Sindh, (where he was hanged in 1943), sparking a new round of terrorist rebellion. Some policemen were killed and railway lines cut. The Chief of Police of Khairpur State and a number of his men were attacked and killed.

The Hur Act was passed and H.T. Lambrick appointed as Special Officer in March 1942. Eight hundred prominent Hurs were rounded up with the help of the Frontier Constabulary and the Zhob Militia, organized in three flying columns and often mounted on camels. Nevertheless, one band of Hurs derailed and looted the Lahore Mail, killing many of the surviving passengers.

The British now sent a brigade which was later strengthened to a division. Martial law was proclaimed and Lambrick became Civil Adviser to the military Administrator. It took twelve more months to put down the rebellion, after which Lambrick remained for another three years as Special Commissioner for the Eastern half of Sindh, with very extensive powers.

Quit India Movement, 1942

The British moved out of Burma in the summer of 1942, as the Japanese moved in. The Quit India mass movement was launched by the Congress party under Gandhi's leadership, in August 1942, in the hope that the British would withdraw from the subcontinent as suddenly as they had left Burma. But the Congress leadership had misjudged the British determination and need to hold onto the subcontinent.

The Congress was declared an unlawful organization, and in a secret predawn sweep, the British arrested the entire Congress leadership. Demonstrations were fired on, and the Press was not allowed to report disturbances or strikes. Violence started in Bombay, where at least thirty people died and the police reintroduced whipping. Striking millhands disrupted Delhi.

The civil disobedience became a full-fledged uprising in the countryside of eastern UP and Bihar, under peasant and student local leadership. Rails, roads and telegraph lines were cut. Hundreds of railway stations and almost a thousand local post offices and police posts were occupied.

The British temporarily lost control of large parts of the UP, Bombay, and Calcutta, and the Viceroy informed Churchill in London that this was the most serious rebellion since 1857. The Viceroy authorized machine gun strafing from the air, and troops were called out in sixty different places.

Within a month thousands had been killed or wounded, including many women, because women were very active in this uprising. None of this could be reported by the Press, and British power was regained by the end of the year.

There were large demonstrations by the Red Shirts at the peak of the non-co-operation movement in 1942, but the people of the Frontier did not respond enthusiastically to the Congress call for Civil Disobedience. Dr. Khan Sahib's government from 1937 to 1939 had removed many of their grievances, and the war was popular in the Frontier. The Muslim League condemned the Quit India Movement, and the Muslim leadership generally remained aloof, happy to benefit from the inactivity of the Congress party while its leaders were under arrest.

Bose had now been transported by submarine to Japan, where he organized the Indian National Army, largely made up of Indian troops captured by the Japanese in Singapore.

Gandhi, in reaction to British brutality, began a three week fast. Congress supporters agitated for Gandhi's release and British authorities agonized over Gandhi's health.

Rice disappeared from the markets in Bengal at the beginning of 1943, and the remnants of the resistance movement were broken by one of the worst famines in the subcontinent in the country.

The Bengal Famine

While 1942 was a year of uprising, 1943 was a year of famine. Around three million people died in this famine, which was created more by war than by weather. The possibility of importing rice from Burma had previously helped to keep rice prices down in Bengal, and the evacuation of Burma by the British removed that possibility.

Many groups were to blame for the scarcity of rice. The army was accused of removing rice stockpiles from border areas in case of a Japanese invasion, and the government was accused of giving priority to the city over the countryside. The upper and middle classes definitely engaged in hoarding, while landless field labourers and the urban poor were left to starve.

The provincial governments of both Bengal and grain-rich Punjab were accused of profiting from the situation. The food problem brought down several ministries in Bengal. A Muslim League ministry replaced Fazl-ul-Haq's non-Muslim League coalition in April 1943, only to fall themselves on the same issue two years later.

The Viceroy and the government in London seemed indifferent to the suffering of millions. 'Supposing in England a few hundred people had died or were dying every week of starvation, let alone a few thousands, would Churchill's Government be able to stand...for 24 hours?' asked Jinnah in his angriest speech since the Rowlatt Act. The British were busy discussing Gandhi's fast, America's impatience for India's independence, and the annoying war debt.

War Debt

Until World War II, the British had always seen to it that the subcontinent was in debt to England to pay for its conquest, defence, governance and the construction of railways, telegraphs and other public works. Now, however, the British were in debt to their own colony. During World War I, England had collected often compulsory contributions and war loans from the people of the subcontinent, promising to pay back with development rather than cash.

By mid-1943, due to closer native supervision, half a million Indian troops serving overseas and the tremendous demand for the raw and manufactured produce of the subcontinent, Britain owed its colony 800 million pounds. Churchill wanted a new system of accounting, but his advisers assured him that this time, the people of the subcontinent would not stand for it.

Provincial Politics

In April 1943, when the Muslim League took power in Bengal, the party also ruled in Sindh, Assam and Punjab. But after the death in December 1942, of Sir Sikandar Hayat, the 42 year old Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana became Premier of the Punjab. He did not have the statesmanlike qualities of Sir Sikandar Hayat, and a Unionist-Muslim League split became inevitable.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan became the Muslim League Chief Minister of NWFP in the summer of 1943, when the British requested a Muslim League ministry to replace the resigned Khudai Khidmatgars.

In July, the Quaid-i-Azam attended a provincial Muslim League Conference in Balochistan, addressing a gathering of 25,000 dignitaries in Quetta. Soon after his return to Bombay, the Quaid was attacked by an assassin from Lahore belonging to the Khaksar Party. After this he was accompanied by three bodyguards, one of them provided by the Khan of Kalat.

Wavell had succeeded Linlithgow as Viceroy by the annual Muslim League conference in Karachi in December 1943. The Quaid-i-Azam felt that the war might continue for another three years, and that the Muslims should use this time to put their house in order. The Quaid's speeches throughout the year stressed social justice and economic reorganization.

In late April 1944, the Quaid again went to Punjab for negotiations with Khizr Hayat Khan, which failed. (The British attempted to aid Khizr by dismissing Shaukat Hayat from the government.) In May 1944 the Muslim League expelled Khizr Hayat Khan. The League could therefore no longer claim to govern Punjab.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, 1944

The last half of 1944 saw a dialogue between Jinnah and the Congress leadership over the meaning of the Pakistan demand and the two-nation theory. Rajagopalachari's proposal of what Jinnah termed 'a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan' was rejected by both the Congress and the Quaid-i-Azam. The Gandhi-Jinnah talks in September 1944, after Gandhi's release from prison, also failed, but they added to Jinnah's prestige.

Gandhi said that he could not accept the two-nation theory because most of the Muslims of the subcontinent were descendants of Hindus. He claimed that the subcontinent had been one nation before the

coming of Islam and he insisted that it must remain one nation. He worried that if the Pakistan demand were accepted, many groups might decide to break off from India.

The Quaid pointed out that the subcontinent had never been united until the completion of the British conquest, and that even now, with princely states covering one-third of its area, the subcontinent did not enjoy uniform administration. He explained that a nation was something which developed over time and asked Gandhi to examine his own role in creating two separate nations, by injecting the Hindu religion into the subcontinent's politics.

More Politics

At the end of 1944, Jinnah travelled to Sindh to patch up a dispute between, the League Premier Hidayatullah, and G.M. Syed. He was also asked to go to NWFP, but was not feeling well, and wrote to the Frontier Leaguers instead, instructing them to put their house in order. The Muslim League ministry in the NWFP lost a vote of confidence in mid-March, and the British requested Dr Khan Sahib of the Khudai Khidmatgars to form a new government.

The famine continued in Bengal and the Muslim League ministry lost a vote of confidence there as well in March 1945. The British governor took control of the province, complaining that, 'In Bengal at least, after a century and a half of British rule, we can point to no achievement worth the name in any direction.'

Simla Conference, summer 1945

The war in Europe ended in June 1945, and the Churchill Government resigned. In the subcontinent, the members of the Viceroy's Council demanded an immediate declaration of dominion status. Instead, Wavell convened a conference at Simla on 25 June 1945.

The Conference failed over the issue of whether the Muslim League was the sole representative of the Muslims. All parties agreed, however, to general elections in the subcontinent of both the central and provincial assemblies.

In Britain meanwhile, the Labour Party won a landslide election victory. The Americans dropped nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in August 1945, and World War II ended a week later, with Japan's surrender.

Election Campaign

The Quaid-i-Azam went to Karachi and Quetta for pre-election fund raising. The Khan of Kalat contributed Jinnah's weight in gold and also provided trucks for the Muslim League campaign. The Quaid had to rest in Balochistan and was too weak to travel for much of the campaign.

This campaign was run from New Delhi by Liaquat Ali Khan and the Muslim League Working Committee. In mid-September, Sir Firoz Khan Noon resigned from the Viceroy's Council to return to Punjab to campaign as a Muslim League candidate. The Quaid visited Peshawar for a week in November; his first trip to the Frontier since 1936.

The Muslim League's platform was the demand for Pakistan. Some members of the JUH now Congress supported the League and had split from the Congress. The Congress demanded immediate independence under a government selected by it. An all-parties Sikh board formed the Panthic Party to fight the elections in opposition to Pakistan.

The Sikh Communists were the only Sikhs to support Pakistan. At this time they were calling for a Sikh-Muslim Pact. Since 1942, the Communist Party of India had supported the Pakistan demand, arguing that India was a multinational state and that all nationalities had the right to secede and form their own sovereign states.

The British made a mistake in putting three officers (a Hindu, a Sikh and a Muslim) of Bose's Indian National Army on trial. Both Congress and the Muslim League associated themselves with the defence of these officers who were considered heroes of the liberation struggle by the people. Riots and arson broke out in Calcutta, Bose's hometown. More than thirty died, hundreds were injured and the British considered the possibility of imposing martial law.

Central Elections, 1945

The Muslim League did well in the December elections, proving that it did represent the Muslims of the subcontinent. The Pakistan demand gained legitimacy in the eyes of the world.

The League captured all thirty Muslim seats in the Central Assembly including one for the Quaid-i-Azam. The Congress maintained its majority. The small parties in the subcontinent did

very badly, leaving the Congress, the Muslim League and the British as the three major actors.

Provincial Elections and Unrest, 1946

The provincial election campaigns unfortunately led to communal rioting. Religious slogans, however, were not the only cause of the unrest which was reminiscent of the end of World War I. A drought brought new famine to the southern provinces, and grain shortages began spreading once more from Bengal to the Frontier. Stringent rationing led to mass protest marches. People demanded pay raises to cope with rising prices.

In February 1946, 3,000 sailors, striking for higher wages, marched around the city, receiving the enthusiastic support of tens of thousands on the streets of Bombay. Sailors in Karachi Harbour followed their example. The ensuing riots in Karachi and Bombay left about two hundred dead, while the provincial elections continued.

The Muslim League was also successful in the provincial elections, winning 88 per cent of the Muslim votes. Although it had never before had a majority in Bengal, the Muslim League now won 90 per cent of the Muslim seats in that province (113 of 119). The League won 75 of 88 Muslim seats in Punjab, 28 of 34 Muslim seats in Sindh, 31 of 34 in Assam and a significant minority in the NWFP (17 of 38 Muslim seats). In Bombay and Madras, the League won all the Muslim seats contested, and in UP 54 out of 64 seats.

Sindh and Bengal now formed League ministries, while the NWFP still had a Congress ministry. Unfortunately, the British and Sikhs encouraged Khizr Hayat Khan to form a coalition of Unionists, Congress and Panthic Sikhs, although the Unionists had been greatly weakened. The Muslim Ahrars, the Sikh Communists and other splinter groups in Punjab were wiped out in these elections.

Cabinet Mission, 25 March-29 June 1946

Although it was now established that the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of the subcontinent demanded Pakistan, the balance of power was nonetheless shifting further away from them. With the war over, the British no longer needed Muslim soldiers to fight for them.

Instead, the British had decided that it would now be less costly and more profitable to have defence and trade relations with an

independent subcontinent. Britain had emerged from World War II victorious but absolutely exhausted. It did not have the resources, the personnel or the will to maintain its power over a now politically conscious populace.

In the interests of a speedy and smooth departure, British military alliances east of the Suez, and future trade agreements, the British preferred to have one united India to deal with in the future. The members of the Labour Government, elected partially on a platform of quitting the subcontinent, had great sympathy for, and in many cases, friendships with, the leaders of the Congress, whom they regarded as the real nationalists.

The Congress had demonstrated its disruptive powers time and again. The British knew that any settlement rejected by the Congress would be virtually impossible to enforce, given the impatience of British personnel, both civilian and military, to quit the subcontinent and to start new lives elsewhere.

Both the British and Congress had now seen that the Muslims would vote for Pakistan, but they did not think that Muslims would fight for Pakistan. Therefore, when three members of the British Cabinet came to the subcontinent to negotiate a compromise between the Muslim League and the Congress, they immediately made it clear that the sovereign Pakistan demanded by the Muslim League, comprising the six Muslim-majority areas of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, Bengal and Assam, was not even under consideration.

After fruitless negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League, the Cabinet mission recommended a three-tier system. The all-India centre would deal only with defence, foreign affairs, and communications. The provinces would form groups, which would write their own constitutions.

The Muslim League decided that the provision for groups met the substance of the demand for Pakistan. They therefore authorized the Quaid-i-Azam to negotiate for the participation of the League in an interim government, with or without the Congress.

Nehru declared that the Constituent Assembly would decide on various issues including groups and the functions of the centre after Independence. In the meanwhile, the Congress also refused to allow an equal role for the League in the interim government. Having concluded, in the opinion of Sardar Patel, that the Muslims would not fight, Congress decided to hang on to majority power in a strong centre.

On these conditions, the Muslim League could not participate in an interim government. If the Congress behaved like this now, worried the Quaid-i-Azam, what would it be like when it was in power and controlled the army?

The Muslims were incensed when the British asked Congress to form an interim government without the League. Important Muslim leaders renounced their titles and distinctions. Many Muslims, both in and out of the Muslim League, were ready to declare a *jehad* to win Pakistan.

Direct Action Day, 1946

Therefore, it was an act of moderation when the Muslim League declared a Direct Action Day, on 16 August 1946, calling for *hartals*, strikes, rallies and meetings. Although Direct Action had been initiated by the Muslims, they were a minority in Calcutta. Both the Hindus and Muslims were victims in the Great Calcutta Killing. Up to 4,000 people were killed, 15,000 injured and 100,000 left homeless.

The trouble then spread to the Noakhali district in East Bengal, a Muslim-majority area, where Hindus were the main victims. In Bihar possibly as many as 7,000 Muslims were slain. There was also trouble in Bombay and UP.

The wave of communal violence had repercussions as far away as NWFP, where the Muslim League organized medical missions to aid victims in Bihar. Many Pathans were migrant workers in Bombay. Word of the attacks on Muslims in the September riots there, spread quickly in the Frontier.

Communal rioting continued through the autumn. It was particularly bad in Bengal and Bihar in October. It was this mood of religious confrontation which would shift popular support from the Congress to the Muslim League in the Frontier.

Many political and religious leaders of the NWFP now left the Congress and several important *pirs* addressed mass meetings in support of the Muslim League. By December the violence had spread to Hazara, where raiding tribesmen destroyed Hindu and Sikh businesses, and the minorities fled to the Rawalpindi district.

It must be remembered that the violence in the wake of Direct Action Day was aggravated by the post-war transition to a peace-time economy, the demobilization of soldiers and continued inflation. There had been strikes in Calcutta the previous month, and lawlessness in Bihar had started with a police mutiny in March.

Interim Government

On 27 August, Viceroy Wavell had frank talks with Gandhi and Nehru, complaining of their bad faith in pretending to accept the Cabinet plan while having no intention of actually following it once the British left. He asked them to commit themselves in writing to the idea of groups and he suggested coalition governments with the Muslim League in Bengal and at the centre to prevent more bloodshed.

Nehru and Gandhi refused both these requests, and from this time onwards began lobbying London to have Wavell replaced, claiming that the Viceroy had been unnerved by the Bengal tragedy. London instructed Wavell to install an interim government immediately, and this was done on 2 September 1946 with Nehru as vice-president.

Not everything was going well for Nehru, however. His tour of the tribal areas in October was not successful. He was met by persistent hostile demonstrations and several times his life was in danger. Nehru was also quite annoyed when the Interim Government was reconstituted on 15 October to include five Muslim League nominees.

Wavell insisted that the Muslim League be given one of the three important portfolios. The Congress offered the finance portfolio in hopes that the Muslim League would feel unqualified, and turn down the position. The Quaid asked Liaquat Ali Khan to take on this responsibility.

Because the Congress was unwilling to share power, the Sikhs, the representatives of the Princely States and the Muslim League all announced their refusals to enter the Constituent Assembly, which was scheduled to meet on 9 December 1946. In one more effort to break the deadlock, the British Prime Minister invited the Viceroy, the Quaid, Liaquat, Nehru and Baldev Singh to London at the beginning of December.

The British reiterated their Cabinet Mission Plan agreeing with the Muslim League's interpretation. The Congress once more officially accepted the British statement but again twisted its meaning, and a Constituent Assembly began deliberations in Delhi without any of the above groups.

On 20 February 1947, Prime Minister Clement R. Atlee announced to the British Parliament that Britain would transfer power to Indian hands by a date no later than June 1948, and that it would decide then whether to transfer power to one central government or to more than one or to individual provinces in certain areas. He also announced Mountbatten's appointment as the new Viceroy.

Pakistan Movement, 1947

A civil disobedience movement was sparked by the banning of the Muslim League volunteers, the Muslim National Guards. In Punjab. Muslim League offices were raided. An almost complete *hartal* was observed in Quetta, Balochistan on 29 January to protest the arrest of Muslim League leaders in Lahore.

Just as local leadership had taken the initiative while the Congress leaders were jailed in the Quit India disturbances of 1942, local leaders now took the initiative to demand Pakistan and full civil rights. Women were in the vanguard of this movement.

Elderly ladies in *burqas*, the women of the great Muslim families of Punjab who had always observed *purdah*, and Lady Hidayatullah, wife of the Sindh Premier, all marched in silent processions and held women's meetings to contravene the government ban on assemblies.

The women were tear-gassed, loaded into police vans and left ten to fifteen miles outside Lahore, to find their own way back to the city. Lady Firoz Khan Noon was tear-gassed inside a police van. She sustained burns and fainted and was left on the road in this condition. The Punjab Press was not allowed to report these events, but the right to assembly and most civil liberties were restored.

In February 1947, Maulana Bhashani, President of the Muslim League in Assam, launched a Direct Action Movement, to court arrest, without consulting the Central League. The disturbances which started there were eventually quelled with the help of Gandhi's pleas for communal peace.

In the Frontier, many political leaders were quitting the Congress to join the Muslim League. There were arrests in Mardan on 20 February at the start of a civil disobedience movement against the Frontier Congress government. On 21 February, a procession led by Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan in Peshawar faced heavy lathi-charge and tear-gas in its march to the home of Dr Khan Sahib, to demand the resignation of the Congress ministry.

Sikhs in Punjab

In British Punjab, which since the Great Revolt stretched all the way to Delhi, the situation was extremely complicated. At that time, there was no sizeable Sikh-majority area. The Sikh population was scattered because of two British policies in the past. First, in 1809, the British had insisted that Ranjit Singh limit his expansions to north-west of

the Sutlej River; to previously non-Sikh areas. Secondly, the British had encouraged the Sikhs to migrate to the new canal colonies west of the Sutlej.

The Muslims equalled more than 57 per cent of Punjab's population. Sikhs equalled 13 per cent, but as a minority, they had been awarded a weighted 20 per cent of the seats in the Provincial Assembly. Although 90 per cent of the Muslim members in the provincial assembly were Muslim Leaguers, a small group of Unionists, with the encouragement of the British governor, had been able to form a coalition with Congress and Sikh representatives.

With a bare majority made up of such diverse interests, the government could hardly function, and the assembly rarely met. The supporters of the Muslim League felt unfairly kept out of power, and in danger of having their demand for Pakistan ignored, while the Sikhs felt that they would suffer under any of the proposed plans for independence.

The Quaid-i-Azam, the All-India Muslim League and some of the smaller parties had all hoped for a Muslim-Sikh pact. They thought that the Sikhs could remain happily in a large Punjab, shorn of some predominantly Hindu districts in the east, but encompassing all of central Punjab.

On the level of provincial politics, however, attitudes had evolved differently. Because of the history of Unionists forming multi-religious coalitions in opposition to the pro-Pakistan Muslim League, it was assumed that Pakistan and multi-religious co-operation were mutually exclusive.

Some Sikh leaders became just as fearful of Muslim domination and a dissolution of Sikh culture as Iqbal had been of Hindu domination and a dissolution of Muslim culture. Therefore, they determined to fight for a Sikhistan.

Master Tara Singh demanded an Azad Sikhistan bounded by the Chenab River on the north-west and the Jamuna to the south-east. The paramilitary Rashtriya Sewak Sangh was preparing to defend Hindu rights, and offered its co-operation to the Sikhs.

Congress Demands Partition, 1947

Budgets were to be proposed at the beginning of March in both the central and provincial governments. The Muslim League was prepared to flex its muscles over the budget proposals both in the Punjab Assembly and in the interim government.

At the centre the finance minister, Liaquat Ali Khan presented a budget on 1 March based mainly on Congress's own campaign promises. The budget horrified many wealthy Congress representatives, who had not expected the Congress platform to be implemented.

In Punjab, Khizr Hayat Khan of the Unionist Party resigned on 2 March on the eve of the provincial budget debate. At first, the British governor asked Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, leader of the Punjab Muslim League, to help form a new government, but the Sikhs and the Hindus made it clear that they would not tolerate a Muslim League government.

On 3 and 4 March Master Tara Singh of the Sikhs and various Hindu leaders delivered inflammatory speeches. Processions were taken out, which clashed with the police and degenerated into communal rioting in Lahore. The violence spread to Jullunder and Amritsar where there was large-scale rioting and arson on 5 and 6 March.

When the news of the violence in Amritsar reached Rawalpindi, the local leadership of both the Muslim League and the Congress appealed to the Deputy Commissioner to help prevent reprisals on the substantial Sikh population of the Rawalpindi district. But the British Deputy Commissioner, bitter about the politicians' demands for independence, remained completely apathetic.

There were stabbings in the city. In the countryside, where Sikhs were often village moneylenders and shopkeepers, there was arson and destruction of Hindu and Sikh property in Murree and elsewhere, with Pathans from the other side of the Punjab-Frontier border coming to join the fray. Many Sikhs shaved their heads and beards in hopes of escaping the violence.

Sikh survivors were evacuated first to Amritsar and later to a camp in Patiala State which became a centre for anti-Muslim preparations under the slogan Revenge Rawalpindi.

There was also violence and arson in Multan, but here the authorities acted vigorously to restore order. The governor rejected Mamdot's offer to form a Muslim League government and took over the administration of the Punjab province.

On 8 March the Working Committee of the All-India National Congress demanded the division of Punjab, and by implication, the partition of the subcontinent. The Congress had realized that the Muslim League would insist upon exercising its rights in any unified government, and that both the Muslims and the Sikhs would fight.

The Congress therefore decided that an independent Pakistan, kept as small and weak as possible, was preferable to sharing power at the centre and to dealing with civil war in the provinces. It hoped that the infant Pakistan would prove unviable, and that its constituents would eventually come crawling back to the Indian Union, willing to accept Congress hegemony as the price of admission.

Frontier Demands Pakistan

On 10 March serious communal rioting broke out in Peshawar when police fired on a Muslim League procession. The Quaid-i-Azam sent a message to Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, who had become the chief organizer, to make every effort to keep the movement peaceful. The provincial Congress government arrested the *pir* and sent ten thousand Khudai Khidmatgars into Peshawar to restore order.

In early April the disturbances shifted to the Dera Ismail Khan region. About 900 Hindu and Sikh shops were destroyed. Neighbouring Tonk was almost burnt to the ground and thousands of Hindus and Sikhs fled from local mobs and Mahsud raiders.

Mountbatten replaced Wavell as Viceroy on 22 March 1947. He represented Britain's newfound determination to leave the subcontinent as soon as possible, as well as its continued hope of leaving it united. Mountbatten immediately set about touring the subcontinent and conferring with leaders.

Mountbatten's arrival in Peshawar on 28 April 1947 was greeted by an immense Muslim League demonstration of between seventy and one hundred thousand. Mountbatten stood on a railway embankment listening to slogans of *Pakistan Zindabad* and *Mountbatten Zindabad.* He then met with the paroled Muslim League leaders and leaders of the Mahsuds and Wazirs.

This experience, along with the fact that the Muslim League civil disobedience movement had completely paralysed the Frontier administration, convinced Mountbatten that the 1945-6 election results, which had enabled Congress to form a government in NWFP, did not necessarily reflect the popular opinion in the Frontier on the Pakistan question.

3 June Plan

By the beginning of May, Mountbatten was proposing a plan for demission of authority to the provinces or to confederations of

provinces. The British approved, but Nehru vetoed the plan, fearing that it would lead to the Balkanization, or dissolution of the subcontinent into tiny fragments. Therefore a new plan was devised, written by V.P. Menon, the Viceroy's Constitutional Adviser and a close friend of Sardar Patel.

This 3 June Plan called for the transfer of power to the separate Dominions of India and Pakistan. The Muslim demand for an independent homeland, first voiced by Iqbal in 1930, was finally to be granted. But this was to be a truncated, minimal Pakistan, not the five Muslim-majority provinces plus Balochistan which the Muslim League had been demanding.

Partition Decision

Since the Lahore Resolution of 1940, the Muslims of the subcontinent had been discussing how the provincial borders should be readjusted at the creation of the new independent Muslim homeland. Changes in borders had, of course, occurred constantly throughout history and since the British conquest.

After its defeat of the Sikhs in 1849, British Punjab had included NWFP, and Delhi was added to Punjab after the Great Revolt of 1857. NWFP was split off from Punjab in 1900, but the province was still unwieldy, and it was obvious that some border adjustments were in order.

The British had partitioned Bengal in 1905 to the delight of most Muslims, and then had reunited it in 1911, to placate the Hindus. Since this fleeting partition, Bengal had become more economically unified. The Quaid-i-Azam at one time welcomed the suggestion of a united independent Bengal, which he was confident would have close and friendly relations with the Muslims of the north-west. In any case, he insisted that Calcutta was necessary to the economy of East Bengal.

Chittagong, which the Muslims had hoped would develop into a port in a separate province under the British, had not developed at all in united Bengal, while Calcutta had grown into a modern international industrial hub which would be impossible for an infant nation to replicate in the foreseeable future. The Quaid also pointed out that Calcutta's Hindu majority, consisting mainly of low caste labourers from outlying regions, had more in common with the impoverished Muslim peasants of East Bengal than they had with the Brahmins of West Bengal.

British Sindh, after spending its first four years as a separate province, had been attached to Bombay until it was separated again in 1935, when Orissa was also separated from Bihar. (The biggest change at that time was the separation of Burma from the rest of the Indian subcontinent at the behest of the Burmese.) The border between Bengal and Assam was assumed to need readjusting. The people of the Sylhet area had more in common with the Bengalis than with the Assamese.

What was not yet realized, however, was that the changes would be so drastic, splitting Bengal and Punjab in two rather than just adjusting their borders. By June 1947, however, it was clear that both the British and the Congress were determined to limit Pakistan to the smallest possible area.

They regarded the whole idea of Muslim independence at best, as an impracticable, tragic mistake, and at worst, as a heinous, treacherous crime against Mother India. They both wanted the least possible damage done to the 'real India', which they saw as the rightful successor to the British Raj.

They both hoped that the seceding areas would see the error of their ways and beg for readmission to the Indian Union. In their minds, the smaller Pakistan was, the less damage done, and the sooner India would be reunited.

If India was to lose the jute-producing region of East Bengal, it would keep the industrialized port of Calcutta. The productive canal lands and the military recruitment areas of West Punjab would go to Pakistan, but as much of Punjab as could possibly be justified, was to be left in India. The two-nation theory was applied with a vengeance.

The British and the Congress claimed that it was the Muslim League's own logic which dictated partition on strictly Muslim-non-Muslim lines. This was not the logic of the Quaid-i-Azam, who had used the two-nation theory as one more instrument for winning equality for all human beings. Jinnah believed that Islam was basically egalitarian and tolerant, and that these tenets would guarantee the rights of non-Muslims in a Muslim homeland.

But the British-Congress interpretation was unfortunately related to the slogans and rhetoric of the pro-Pakistan campaign then being waged by students, politicians and religious leaders throughout the subcontinent. The Muslims, challenged to demonstrate their unity behind the Pakistan demand, often campaigned on strictly religious lines.

These campaigns convinced many ordinary people and decision-makers that Muslims and non-Muslims could not live together peacefully. This conviction would have tragic results in British Punjab which had only a slight Muslim majority and where the small but militant Sikh minority was scattered throughout its centre. The Sikhs now demanded that as large a percentage of the Sikh population as possible be included on the Indian side of the border.

Consultative Procedures

On 4 June 1947, Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh joined Mountbatten on the radio to announce that steps would be taken to ascertain the wishes of the elected representatives of Sindh, West Punjab and East Bengal. Plebiscites would be held in NWFP and the Sylhet Division of Assam, and there would also be a consultative procedure for Balochistan.

A Commission would be engaged to draw borders separating as precisely as practicable, Muslim from non-Muslim areas in Bengal and Punjab. Its decisions would be made public after Independence. Mountbatten also decided at this time that the transfer of power would take place very soon; in just ten weeks, on 15 August 1947 rather than June 1948.

The Frontier Congress now issued a demand for an independent state of Pakhtunistan. The Congress called for a boycott of the referendum because it proposed just two options; to join India or to join Pakistan, and did not offer the options of autonomy, independence or joining Afghanistan.

British-supervised plebiscites were held in Sylhet and NWFP on 6 and 7 July. In spite of the boycott, 51 per cent of the Frontier's total electorate voted, and 99 per cent of the votes were in favour of joining Pakistan. The tribal areas expressed their assent through special *jirgas* which were asked to vote yes or no to ratify the plebiscite decision to join Pakistan. On 29 June 1947, the fifty-four member Shahi Jirga of Balochistan decided to join Pakistan.

The British Parliament in London was also considering the plan and on 18 July passed the Indian Independence Act.

This act provided for two Governor-Generals for Pakistan and India, which would begin their independence as self-governing dominions within the British Commonwealth.

Mountbatten had hoped to be Governor-General of both dominions, but the Quaid-i-Azam decided to be Governor-General for Pakistan. Mountbatten had shown himself to be well-intentioned but extremely naive, and constantly manipulated by Sardar Patel's loyal Congress network.

A Stand Still Agreement was signed by the Khan of Kalat, The Quaid-i-Azam and Mountbatten on 4 August 1947, making Balochistan the first of the Indian states to enter into an agreement with Pakistan, although the implications of the agreement and *jirga* decision would later become matters of dispute.

Violence

After the announcement of the 3 June Plan, communal hostilities had ebbed. In mid-July, the Quaid-i-Azam issued a statement assuring non-Muslims that they would find peace, tolerance and respect in the new Pakistan. But between March and August around 5,000 people, mainly in the rural areas and more Hindus and Sikhs than Muslims, had been killed in Punjab.

The Hindus and Sikhs were threatening revenge. On 5 August Mountbatten called the Quaid, Liaquat and Patel to discuss Master Tara Singh's threats and leaked Sikh plans to blow up the special trains from Delhi to Karachi and to kill the Quaid-i-Azam on Independence Day. Because of the objections of Patel and the British Governor of Punjab, Master Tara Singh was not put under arrest.

Some Sikh leaders were determined to regroup the Sikhs east of the Pakistan border. They encouraged their followers to drive the Muslims out of East Punjab, in order to make room for Sikhs migrating from the west. For ten days, from 5 August to 10 August Muslim villages around Amritsar were attacked. The villages were burned and their inhabitants butchered.

On 9 August four senior Muslim army officers and 150 Muslim officials were murdered on a train taking them from Delhi to Karachi. The last train to travel safely to Lahore from Calcutta left on 10 August. Muslim policemen in Amritsar District were disarmed on 10 August and started deserting. On the 11th, the killing started on the Amritsar to Lahore trains.

Bengal, the scene of so much bloodshed the previous August, was better prepared to avert communal violence at the time of Independence. Encouraged by the English Governor and the Muslim

League leader and former Mayor of Calcutta, Mohammed Osman, Gandhi stationed himself in Calcutta.

Gandhi was joined by H.S. Suhrawardy, and the Muslim League agreed to see that the Muslims of Noakhali would remain nonviolent if Gandhi would plead for peace in Calcutta. Gandhi planned to fast on Independence Day, and businesses in Calcutta decided to close down for the two days of ceremony.

Transfer of Power

Between the passage of the Indian Independence Act by the British Parliament and Independence Day itself, less than a month was available for the division of assets and exchange of civil and military personnel. Many could hardly believe that after so many years of struggle, Independence was now arriving so suddenly.

Many veterans of the Independence Movement, like the Quaid-i-Azam, had not expected to see the fulfillment of their dreams in their own lifetimes. When the Quaid and his sister Fatima arrived in Karachi on 7 August cheering crowds lined the way from the airport to Government House.

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly, which would act as both the federal legislature and the constitution making body, began its opening session on 11 August. 'Now if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor,' directed the Quaid-i-Azam. In the same speech he called for freedom for all religious groups and he condemned bribery, corruption, nepotism and jobbery.

Mountbatten arrived in Karachi on 13 August and on the next day, 14 August 1947, he read a message from King George to the Assembly, before travelling to Delhi for the midnight ceremonies. On 15 August Pakistan and India were both independent nations. Like the birth of a baby, the Independence of Pakistan was greeted with trepidation, awe, happiness and excitement. Pakistan was born. Could it survive?

EPILOGUE

Radcliffe Award, 17 August 1947

The Boundary Commission under its Chairman Sir Cyril Radcliffe announced its Award on 17 August 1947. Some Muslim majority areas contiguous to Pakistan, such as Ferozepur, Jullundur and Gurdaspur were handed over to India. By declaring Wagah as the boundary between India and Pakistan, some of Lahore District was awarded to India.

After 140 years of Sikhs settling and prospering west of the Sutlej, there was no Partition line which could have been drawn without tragic results. Many Hindus and Sikhs had hoped that the Partition line would be drawn west of Lahore. In the eyes of some observers, it was the determination of some of the Sikh leaders to regroup Sikhs to the east of the line which sparked off a holocaust beyond anyone's worst fears.

There had been talk of organizing the Sikh princely states (Kapurthala, Faridkot, etc.) into a confederation under Patiala. Most Sikhs, however, wanted to stay wherever they were and were prepared to defend themselves in case of communal violence. They wanted to hold on to their valuable canal lands near Montgomery (now Sahiwal) and Lyallpur (now Faisalabad), and they wanted to continue residing near the major Sikh shrine of Nankana Sahib at Sheikhupura.

Waves of Violence

The Punjab had been suffering from serious communal violence since March. On 15 August enraged by trainloads of corpses arriving from Amritsar, some Muslims launched an attack on the Sikhs of Lahore. Soon after, on 17 August communal violence broke out in the Sheikhupura, Sialkot and Gujranwala districts. The massacre of the

Sikhs in Sheikhupura was followed by a reaction against the Muslims in Amritsar. By 20 August Muslim refugees began arriving from East Punjab with terrible tales which incited Muslim vengeance.

On 21 August troops were sent to the railway junction near Kalat in Balochistan, to prevent a massacre there, but homes were burning in Quetta. Authorities and responsible citizens in the Derajat area tried desperately to protect the minorities, but in Punjab as a whole violence on the 25th and 26th left heavy Hindu and Sikh casualties. Now many Sikhs, encouraged by their leaders, migrated from Montgomery (Sahiwal) to Ferozepur on the Indian side of the border.

The local authorities had maintained order in the Lyallpur (Faisalabad) area, but around 5 September on their leaders' orders, Sikhs began to burn their villages and trek eastwards in columns several miles long, fighting with any Muslims whom they met on the way.

During these days numberless Muslims were slaughtered in East Punjab, particularly in the Sikh princely states, while Sikhs and Hindus suffered heavy casualties in central Punjab. In Bahawalpur and south-west Punjab, there was less bloodshed; lawlessness more often involved looting and abduction of women.

Praise and Blame

Violence and heartbreak were not limited to the border areas. Everywhere, in cities, towns and villages, homes were burning and families were uprooted. Times of chaos bring out the best and worst in human nature. There were countless stories of rape and loot and slaughter, along with countless tales of selflessness in defence of the helpless and in aid of victims.

To this we must add the stoic nobility of ordinary people in looking after their families and persevering amidst the most horrible circumstances. Within a year, some five and a half million refugees would move each way across the West Pakistan/India border. One and a quarter million people would move from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) to Indian Bengal.

Within six weeks of Partition, the governments of Pakistan and India, under the Governor-Generals Jinnah and Mountbatten and the Prime Ministers Liaquat Ali Khan and Nehru, were able to bring the situation under control, but perhaps more than a million people had died. Much agonized heart-searching and many bitter accusations have

gone into the consideration of how and whether any of the carnage could have been prevented.

We will never know what difference it would have made if the British had stayed longer or left sooner, if the borders had been drawn differently, or had been announced at a different time, if the civil servants had not been allowed to opt for one or the other dominion before independence, leaving minorities feeling unprotected and encouraging the idea of moving.

Violence had begun and more was expected, but the border forces were woefully inadequate to enforce peace. Britain's post-war exhaustion, which allowed the subcontinent to win its freedom without further armed struggle, also meant that Britain had neither the will nor the personnel to control the situation.

Most agree that some of the British officers who did remain failed to act with their traditional courage and decisiveness. Both the Punjab and the Indian army were central to the romance of the British Raj, and there was much bitterness and resentment among junior British officers when these great historic institutions were broken in two.

The British in Punjab clung to the hope that the province would remain united right up to the moment of Nehru's rejection of Mountbatten's first plan in May 1947. This and the Unionists' pro-British history coloured the local British attitude toward the Muslim League, and led to years of unwise policies in Punjab, as well as the six months of violence preceding independence.

Among those in the government services on both sides of the border, British, Anglo-Indian, Hindu, Sikh, Christian and Muslim, there were some who were overcome by cowardice or hatred, by desire for vengeance or loot. But there were thousands who persevered courageously in attempting to carry out their impossible jobs of maintaining order and ensuring the smooth transfer of populations.

Communists and other leftist organizers and social workers worked tirelessly before and after the Radcliffe Decision for communal peace, often losing their lives in the struggle to save lives. We will never know how many deaths were prevented by their efforts or by the heroism of many non-political people of all religions who did their utmost during that terrible time to counter hatred and violence and to minister to the wounded and dying, and those rendered homeless and destitute by this immense upheaval.

In a speech in Lahore in October, the Quaid refused to apportion blame. Again in February 1948, the Quaid-i Azam stated that,

> None of us, whether we be of Pakistan or India, can speak of it without the deepest grief. Men, women and children have been massacred in their thousands. Millions are homeless. The trouble once having started, the people on both sides have hit back at each other...,

Gandhi, Nehru and the Quaid-i-Azam were all heartbroken over the extent of violence which none of them had expected. Jinnah was a man who kept his emotions very much to himself. His cool and self-contained demeanor was an important asset both in his legal practise and in tense political negotiations. Only after his death did we learn from his sister Fatima Jinnah that the Quaid had wept daily over each morning's news reports.

Many observed the Quaid's tears during his visits to the camps of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim refugees. His own health was failing quickly while he dealt with all the crucial problems of the new state, but the Quaid was almost compulsive in his close attention to relief efforts.

Among the many others who joined in this tremendous task were Begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan and the All Pakistan Women's Association. The government also gratefully accepted the offer of Maulana Maudoodi's Jamaat-i-Islami to take over the running of some of the camps.

Accession of Princely States

The next item on the agenda of the two young nations was the accession of the princely states. The day after Partition, the Khan of Kalat declared Balochistan an independent state. He came to Karachi in October to discuss the applicability of Kalat's various treaties with the British to its relationship with the successor state of Pakistan.

The Quaid-i-Azam advised Kalat to merge with Pakistan, but when the Khan of Kalat summoned both houses of his assembly, its members were not ready for a merger. Jinnah travelled to Sibi to obtain the Khan's signature, but his assembly requested assurances that their customs and privileges would not be threatened. At this point the Quaid handed the Balochistan issue over to his cabinet members.

Bahawalpur acceded on 3 October 1947 and joined Punjab. Khairpur was attached to Sindh. The former princely states of Swat, Dir and Chitral were incorporated in the Frontier province. After Independence, the old Wali of Swat stepped down for his son Jehanzeb.

Junagadh, along the coast about 300 miles south of Karachi, acceded to Pakistan immediately after Independence. India first instituted an economic blockade, and then sent an army of Hindu emigres to take control of the area. Junagadh's Diwan, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, who had drafted the document of accession, now sailed with other Muslim officials from Junagadh's port of Veravel back to his native Sindh.

Kashmir

The Maharaja of Kashmir was paralyzed by indecision, afraid that joining either Pakistan or India would result in his dethronement. Kashmir had signed a standstill agreement with Pakistan to allow petrol and other supplies to continue arriving by the one all-weather road into Kashmir through Gurdaspur, the Muslim-majority area just south of Kashmir. The Boundary Commission, however, placed Gurdaspur on the Indian side of the border, solely, it seemed, to give India control over the Punjab-Kashmir road.

The majority of the people of Kashmir were Muslims but the ruler was a Hindu. The Muslim peasants in Kashmir's southern province of Poonch revolted against the Dogra Rajput landowners. Many tribesmen, in an almost millennial mood of excitement over the victory of Muslim nationhood, began to pour into Kashmir in September and early October to liberate their Muslim brothers from the Hindu Maharaja. Pakistan decided to stop further shipments of supplies to the Kashmiri ruler.

On 23 October some 5,000 armed Afridi, Waziri, and Mahsud tribesmen, in Pakistan army trucks and jeeps crossed the Kashmir border, seized Muzaffarabad and headed towards Srinagar. India tried again to get the Maharaja to sign the accession papers. He was still undecided, but his Prime Minister requested military assistance. After the First Sikh Battalion had been airlifted into Srinagar, the Maharaja, who had fled to his winter palace at Jammu, signed the accession papers on 26 October 1947.

The Quaid-i-Azam ordered Pakistan army troops from Sialkot and Rawalpindi to move to Jammu and Srinagar, but he withdrew his order when Auchinleck, Montgomery and the British acting Commander-in-Chief threatened that all British officers would be withdrawn from the Pakistan army. The Quaid-i-Azam protested that Pakistan should have been informed of the British-Indian decision to

airlift troops, and should have been included in a joint action to restore peace.

Although the British had tolerated the Indian invasion of Junagadh, and co-operated in the Indian invasion of Kashmir, they blocked any official Pakistani action in Kashmir. (Even so, Field-Marshal Auchinleck, in charge of the distribution of military assets, was forced to leave one month early—30 November instead of 31 December 1947—because Sardar Patel questioned his impartiality!)

On 22 December Nehru charged that tribal 'raiders' of Kashmir 'have free transit through Pakistan...Food and other supplies are also secured from Pakistan'. On the 31st, India submitted a formal complaint to the UN, and on 15 January 1948, Liaquat Ali Khan filed Pakistan's cross-complaint.

In the meanwhile, fighting continued, with the line of battle east of Uri and Poonch. By the end of 1947, around 30,000 volunteers had evolved into the regular army of Azad Kashmir. To the north, the British had leased Gilgit from Kashmir since 1936. The Muslim Gilgitis fought fiercely to be part of Pakistan, and still take great pride in their successful struggle to bring vast tracts of mountainous terrain under Pakistani control.

The Mahatma and the Quaid

It often seemed that it was the indomitable will of two elderly men which pulled the subcontinent out of servitude, and breathed life into the two infant nations. Then, in the first year of Independence and the last year of their lives, the two frail old men wept over the sufferings of the refugees and of the minorities left behind.

They fumed over mediocrity, self-centredness and corruption among the elites who would continue to guide these nations after their deaths. Both men were seized with a terrible sense of urgency that India and Pakistan should start out on the right lines. They both repeated constantly that the struggle had been for the sake of the common man; that it was he who had suffered most and he who must benefit from freedom.

Jinnah and Gandhi both fought any expectations that the fruits of victory should go to the leaders of the two victorious political parties. The Quaid-i-Azam considered the possibility of winding up the Muslim League and replacing it with a national party welcoming members of all religions.

At the last meeting of the All-India Muslim League in Karachi on 14 and 15 December 1947, before it split into Pakistan and Indian leagues, the Quaid reminded his fellow politicians that before Independence,'The Muslims were...demoralized, and they had to suffer economically. We have achieved Pakistan, not for the League, not for any of our colleagues, but for the masses.' Jinnah the lawyer laboured in the last year of his life to produce the Anti-Corruption Act and the machinery for its enforcement.

Assassination of Gandhi, January 1948

Gandhi, on 11 January 1948, suggested that Congress be dissolved since it was full of decay and decline, corruption, and power politics. The next day Gandhi embarked upon his last fast to protest the continuing persecution of Muslims in Delhi and to restore friendship among all religions. He ended his fast when Sardar Patel and the entire Indian Cabinet gathered at his bedside to promise to hand over the cash assets which were due to Pakistan and which the Pakistan government needed to meet its day to day expenses.

Extremist Sikhs and Hindus demonstrated against Gandhi and called him 'Mohammed Gandhi' because of his practise of reading from the Quran. On 20 January a bomb exploded in the compound of Birla House where Gandhi was staying, and ten days later the Mahatma was shot to death by a Hindu extremist, the Brahmin, Nathuram Godse.

His death finally galvanized the Indian government into disassociating itself from religious fanatics, whose influence Jinnah had been condemning since 1929. The RSS was temporarily banned and the Hindu Mahasabha voluntarily withdrew from political activity in India. The temporary eclipse of these organizations did not eliminate Hindu extremism from India and this remains a very serious problem.

Consolidation

The national government of Pakistan attempted to consolidate its authority over the very diverse regions of the new nation. Afghanistan claimed a close relationship with the tribes of the borderlands and complained when it was not consulted about their fate at the time of Independence. Afghanistan would continue to encourage the idea of Pakhtunistan with more or less enthusiasm over the years.

After Independence, however, the Frontier Congress declared their loyalty to Pakistan and re-interpreted Pakhtunistan to mean internal freedom within Pakistan. In February, 1948, Bacha Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgar leader, further explained it as a demand for autonomy, when he attended the first session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He took an oath of allegiance to Pakistan on 23 February 1948 and had several friendly meetings with the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Pakistan Cabinet obtained the separate mergers of the Kharan, Las Bela and Makran areas of Balochistan by 17 March 1948, and the Khan of Kalat signed documents for accession on 30 March 1948. All his legal authority ended two weeks later when a Political Agent was appointed to administer Balochistan and guide its Chief Minister. The Baloch Assembly was dissolved and several ministers of the Balochistan government were exiled or arrested at this time.

The Cabinet requested the Quaid-i-Azam to address mass meetings in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in March, and in Peshawar, NWFP in April. The Quaid met with Bacha Khan again in the Frontier, but the Muslim League Chief Minister of the NWFP and the English Governor warned Jinnah against co-operation with the Khudai Khidmatgars. Jinnah demanded that the Khudai Khidmatgars should merge with the Muslim League. Bacha Khan invited Jinnah to be head of the Khudai Khidmatgars, but refused to merge, stating that many of the Muslim League leaders were not good people.

At this point, Jinnah gave the government instructions to crush the Khudai Khidmatgar organization. Bacha Khan's son, Ghani Khan, tried to negotiate for co-operation between the Muslim League and the Khudai Khidmatgars, but Bacha Khan refused. In Karachi, Bacha Khan addressed the Assembly in Urdu, complaining that there was no real difference between the new Pakistan government and the old British administration, and that in fact there were now more British governors than before Independence.

In May the Jamiat-ul-Awam was formed with founding members from both Sindh and the Frontier, who were denounced by Liaquat Ali Khan as Hindus and traitors. Bacha Khan announced his intention of extending the Khudai Khidmatgars to all of Pakistan as a volunteer corps for the new party which would be non-communal, progressive, liberal and democratic, working to make Pakistan a union of Socialist republics in which there would be regional autonomy and which would have good cultural relations with India and the neighbouring states.

The Jamiat-ul-Awam began to organize in the villages of the

Peshawar and Mardan districts. Bacha Khan was now critical of Jinnah as well as the Constituent Assembly, asking why there was no constitution yet. On 15 June 1948, Bacha Khan, his son Wali Khan and two others were arrested in the Kohat District on the charge of sedition with intent to collaborate with the Faqir of Ipi. A summary trial was held in a rest house on the main road to Bannu. When Bacha Khan refused to guarantee three years of 'good behaviour', he was sentenced under the Frontier Crimes Regulations to three years rigorous imprisonment and taken to the Montgomery (now Sahiwal) Jail.

The NWFP Governor was granted extra powers on 8 July 1948, and one thousand Khudai Khidmatgars were jailed amidst demonstrations in front of police stations. On 12 August 1948, at Babra in Charsadda District, a large crowd, including forty women with Qurans and many children, gathered outside a mosque with the announced purpose of praying for the release of the imprisoned Khudai Khidmatgars.

The police fired on the demonstration. Official figures listed fifteen dead and fifty injured, but many considered these figures to represent a tenth of the actual casualties. After the firing, the village was looted, some men were stripped and others were half shaved. The Press was not allowed to report fully on this incident.

Bacha Khan's elder brother, Dr. Khan Sahib, and son Ghani Khan, were now arrested and a military manhunt rounded up Khudai Khidmatgar activists. In mid-September, Bacha Khan's centre was attacked and the Khudai Khidmatgar organization was declared unlawful.

Death of Quaid-i-Azam, September 1948

The Quaid-i-Azam spent much of the summer of 1948 in Quetta, where it was hoped that the pure air and rest would help him recover his health. On 3 June 1948 the Quaid travelled to Karachi for the opening of the State Bank of Pakistan, but returned to Quetta within 48 hours and stayed there until shortly before his death.

The Mahatma and the Quaid-i-Azam, absolutely opposite in style and personality, had developed unique personal styles with which they beat the English at their own game. A major ingredient of British rule had always been the British image of self-confident authority (some might say sense of racial superiority). It was expressed with pomp and circumstance; durbars, uniforms, royal tours.

Gandhi simply dispensed with these pretensions and presented himself as the simplest and most un-Westernized of the Indians. Jinnah chose the opposite route. He out-Englished the English, with his impeccable appearance, manners and accent. Each projected in his own way, his confidence in being the equal of anyone, and both devoted their lives to winning equality for everyone.

Gandhi attempted to bring out the best in people by displaying his frailty; in his fasts, his walks, etc. Jinnah tried to hide his frailty. During his final days in Balochistan, the Quaid kept delaying his return to Karachi, hoping to regain enough strength to walk from the car into Government House as poised and proper as ever.

Jinnah outlived Gandhi by seven and a half months, but these were months of quickly fading health. To tuberculosis and lung cancer was added pneumonia. It was finally decided to bring the Quaid back to Karachi. The emaciated figure, weighing only seventy pounds, but still elegant in silk pajamas, was placed gently on a stretcher and carried into a plane.

At the Karachi airport, the stretcher was transferred to an ambulance, but on the road going south to Karachi, the ambulance broke down. The Quaid's sister, Fatima Jinnah, and the nurse took turns fanning flies away from his face.

Fatima fed him a cup of tea from a thermos flask and observed that, 'Nearby stood hundreds of huts belonging to the refugees, who went about their business, not knowing that their Quaid, who had given them a homeland, was in their midst, lying helpless.' Helpless, perhaps, but at home.

The Quaid-i-Azam had travelled much in his life and had purchased houses in various places—in Bombay, London and New Delhi. But as he had reminisced the year before, 'Yes, I am Karachi-born, and it was on the sands of Karachi that I played marbles in my boyhood. I was schooled at Karachi.'

Now, lying in the ambulance among the refugee settlements and the rumbling traffic, the Quaid was finally at home among those whom he loved and where he was loved and revered, in the land he had helped to create. 'Do you know', (he had also said the year before), 'I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime. We have to be very grateful for what we have achieved.' The Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah died that night at Government House, on 11 September 1948.

Hyderabad

The Muslim ruler of Hyderabad Deccan would have liked to remain independent or if this was not possible, to accede to Pakistan, but Hyderabad was surrounded on all sides by India, and its population was mostly Hindu. A standstill agreement with India gave Hyderabad time till August 1948 to make its decision.

In the meantime, the Hyderabad government made clear its sympathies by loaning the Pakistan government a large sum while the Indian government was dragging its feet over releasing Pakistan's share of the cash reserves. But two days after the Quaid's death, India, in a police action, took control of Hyderabad on 13 September 1948.

Cease-fire in Kashmir, 1 January 1949

The cease-fire arranged by the UN did not come into effect until the beginning of 1949, and the plebiscite which the Indian government promised to hold has never taken place. Azad Kashmir, with its capital at Muzaffarabad, acceded to Pakistan.

The Kashmir issue is very much alive today, as is the issue of a homeland for the Sikhs. But the borders of Pakistan had been stabilized by the start of 1949. The greatest change of course would be the independence of the former East Pakistan as Bangladesh in 1971.

The Inheritance

What was this new nation of Pakistan like? What were its assets and liabilities? What was its inheritance? We must begin by noting that few outside observers expected the infant nation to survive, and that most based their policies on the theory that the sooner Pakistan collapsed the better.

India, Afghanistan and the Sikh extremists all stood by, ready to move in and claim their share of a dissolving Pakistan. Britain put top priority on maintaining good relations with the offspring it expected to survive—India. American and other international corporations thought Pakistan a poor risk for investment.

It did turn out to be impossible to hold the two wings of Pakistan together indefinitely, but in general these bleak expectations were proved wrong, and Pakistan has shown itself capable not only of

survival but of great progress. In all the controversy surrounding the two-nation theory, and the Boundary Decision, many people lost sight of the basic geographic good sense of an agricultural nation centred on the great Indus Valley river system.

Empires had come and gone over the past five thousand years, annexing parts of the Indus area to the west or to the east. The Upper and Lower Indus had often been split in the pre-modern days of slow travel and non-electric communication. The Indus River had sometimes been a border instead of a central artery.

It was not, therefore, immediately obvious from a casual perusal of history that the demand for a Muslim homeland was not an artificial, impractical whim, but the addition of an ideological rationale to an economically viable piece of territory with an age-old history of cultural and economic interaction. Why then was it considered unviable?

Economic Inheritance, 1947

In 1947 Pakistan's economy was overwhelmingly agricultural. From the time of its own Industrial Revolution (1770-1815) until World War I, Britain had stifled all industrialization in the subcontinent. After this, the limited industrial development which did occur happened almost entirely in locales which eventually became part of India.

Commerce and finance during British times was in the hands either of European concerns or Hindu or Sikh businessmen. Most of the Hindu-owned banks and trading corporations active in the Pakistan area before Independence withdrew their capital and personnel before Partition. With virtually no modern industry or financial infrastructure, the infant Pakistan looked handicapped indeed.

The development which had occurred in the Pakistan area in the colonial era was mostly related to the production and export of agricultural products. The networks of irrigation canals and railway tracks, of which the British were so proud, had indeed increased agricultural production and facilitated its distribution. (Unfortunately, the Partition of the subcontinent in 1947 left the headwaters of all of Pakistan's great rivers in India. This would cause severe problems for the next two decades.)

The British had built the railways to export grain, cotton (in Bengal, jute) and other produce to the West, and not to distribute them to the

people of the present-day Pakistan area. But they had also built other railway lines with the defence of the frontiers and more importantly, the control of the population in mind.

The whole railway system together, including both the lines built to export produce and the lines built for military purposes, could be used to distribute goods and did provide a useful transportation infrastructure. Similarly, the telegraph lines which the British had installed for their own purposes of commerce and control, along with the postal system, provided a basis for modern communications.

The British had two major interests in the north-west territories which eventually constituted Pakistan. The first was the revenue-producing capacity of its agricultural lands, whether in terms of taxes, profits on produce, land-rent, or charges for rail transport and canal water. Its second interest was in the area's population as a military recruitment pool.

The North-west Frontier area with its constant unrest also proved to be an important training ground for both native and European military personnel. Because both manpower and military challenges were found there, the Pakistan area inherited various military fortifications and training institutions, along with a large number of professional soldiers and a carefully nurtured martial tradition.

Balochistan, NWFP, the northern hill states and the western edge of Punjab had never had a high agricultural productivity per acre, and had been contributing fighting men rather than agricultural revenue to various empires long before the arrival of the British. In these areas the British built roads, telegraph lines, military installations and in some cases railways and bridges for military purposes, but did little to improve either the lot of the people or the productivity of the land.

In central Punjab, and to a lesser extent Sindh and Bahawalpur, the British invested heavily in irrigation works, though it must be remembered that these, like the railways, were very profitable investments. Land revenue income was exceeded by railway profits which were in turn surpassed by water revenues.

Aside from these were the profits amassed by private European trading companies which exported grain, cotton and other produce to the West. The people of the Punjab did benefit nevertheless from its higher productivity, and the population increased greatly. Part of this increase came from eastern Punjab, however, and this immigration of Sikhs and Hindus contributed to the tragedy of Partition.

Inheritance—Social System

The major negative result of British rule was a stagnant social system. Like empires everywhere and throughout the ages, the British tended to rule through local elites, especially after the Great Revolt, which happened soon after the conquest of the West Pakistan area.

Where the tribal system was still in force at the advent of British rule, as in the Frontier and Balochistan, the colonial power tended to deal with tribal leaders. This bolstered their authority, and often enabled tribal leaders to retain power without performing the functions or living up to standards previously demanded of them.

Similarly, where large landowners held great power, as in many parts of Punjab and Sindh, the British rewarded loyalty by protecting and increasing the wealth and prestige of the loyal landowning families. They also created a new landed aristocracy from those who were useful to them.

Everywhere, the British put down local tribal and peasant uprisings. The British saw all unrest as a threat to their authority. By suppressing those uprisings, however, the British were preventing the birth of a modern social system. A century of suppressed bitterness was unfortunately unleashed on minorities when colonial authority was lifted.

Even while introducing a certain amount of modern technology, the British were artificially preserving outdated feudal and tribal social systems. In fact, the increase in agricultural productivity strengthened the feudal classes and dampened the pressure for developing new techniques of production and new economic relationships.

A small number of landowners controlled a large amount of Pakistan's cultivable land at the time of Independence. This land was generally farmed by tenants, who used primitive equipment and techniques and turned over a sizeable share of their produce to the landowner.

Administrative Inheritance

The people who stepped into the shoes of the departing British rulers were often Muslim members of the civil or military services or of the Muslim League. They represented the propertied and educated Muslims of the subcontinent. Both in the campaign for a Muslim homeland and in the early efforts to set up a functioning government and viable economy, all capabilities had to be put to good use.

The bureaucracy which Pakistan inherited from the British (who in turn inherited much of it from previous Muslim rulers) has a tendency to plod on regardless of the whims of political ideologies. In resisting change, the bureaucracy has been accused of impeding progress, but it has also been praised for providing continuity and stability.

Political Heritage of British Rule

British historians tend to portray democratic ideals and institutions as having been handed down by the British Liberals to their colonial subjects. But as in the economic sphere, foreign rule distorts all development, in spite of the best intentions. In this case, however, the conscious intentions and the results were usually identical.

The agonizingly gradual introduction of democratic reforms started with giving consultative powers to a tiny group of handpicked loyal aristocrats and local rulers. Very slowly, the vote was introduced, first to male property holders and members of the professions. Eventually it was extended to military personnel and propertied females.

The powers of elected officials were always balanced by the powers of nominated loyalists and British governors, military commanders, and other strategically placed officials. The reforms were introduced first in the areas of earliest colonization, and came even more slowly to Balochistan, NWFP, Punjab and much of Sindh.

Local elections were introduced before national elections in a successful effort to keep people occupied with local issues and distracted from basic power questions. Political parties and elections were tolerated as a means of letting off steam and thus avoiding real challenges to British rule. When political movements actually threatened the power structure, elections were postponed and parties were banned.

If by democracy we mean the empowerment of ordinary men and women, British rule was designed both consciously and unconsciously to do just the opposite. Thus 'democratic reforms' became one more way of bolstering loyal local elites. In a sizeable portion of what is now Pakistan; in Balochistan and the various smaller principalities and chieftaincies, even these reforms were never introduced and society was frozen in an autocratic caricature of its former self.

The British really believed themselves to be fond of the sturdy peasants and soldiers of the area, but this was a paternalistic, father-

knows-best affection. Some of the elites who inherited power from the British also inherited many of their predecessors' attitudes towards politics and the common man.

International Co-operation

Non-Muslims often express surprise at the tremendous efforts for the establishment of a Muslim homeland in the north-west and north-east made by Muslims who never intended to leave the Indian part of the subcontinent. They are unaware of the intense sense of Islamic community and international co-operation which has flourished since the beginning of Muslim times.

This expressed itself in many ways including medical missions, pan-Islamic organizations, the Khilafat movement and the Pakistan movement. This sense of identity was shared by tribesmen waging *jehad*, by scholars moving throughout the Middle East and Europe, by aristocrats in the service of princely states, and by ordinary townspeople and villagers.

The struggle for human rights has always been international, encompassing even more than the Islamic world. Lawyers, journalists, labour leaders, educators and students of various nationalities and ideologies worked together to organize newspapers, political parties, educational institutions, labour unions and other voluntary associations in England, South Africa and the subcontinent, building up democratic institutions and traditions in Britain and in its colonies simultaneously.

Political Heritage of the Independence Struggle

Traditions which developed in the course of the Independence struggle remain crucial today to the preservation and extension of freedom and progress in Pakistan. The courage of Pakistan's journalistic, legal and academic communities makes their members important today all along the political spectrum. Women and young people continue to be most active when the climate is most repressive.

The idea of Pakistan was born among the middle class intelligentsia of the towns, and was first spread to the countryside by student activists. The Muslim League did not have either the time or the resources to build a solid mass-based political organization.

Like most national liberation movements, the Muslim League was of necessity a united front, welcoming a diverse membership which

often represented conflicting economic and political interests. (This is one reason why Jinnah and Gandhi each considered dissolving their respective parties after Independence.)

As the movement gained momentum and the probability of Partition became clear, more and more politicians and local elites joined the League. As communal tensions mounted, local religious leaders played a pivotal role in many areas in creating the tremendous groundswell of popular enthusiasm which enabled the birth of Pakistan.

This crusading spirit was probably essential not only for the birth of Pakistan, but also for its survival during the first stormy year of partition, migration, and conflict over Kashmir. Ideological fervour, however, can be mischanneled to intolerance and mindless violence.

Before Independence, the ordinary Muslims of the subcontinent, especially those who lived in the present Pakistan area, had little experience of active participation in modern democratic politics. We have pointed out many instances when colonial authorities suppressed struggles which were the necessary precursors to modern democratic movements.

British power in the present day Pakistan area was established and maintained by force, from first to last. Resistance against colonial as well as local oppression and exploitation continued unabated throughout the century of British rule.

In fact, the history of the subcontinent, including the present Pakistan area, for the two centuries prior to Independence, is a history of constant struggle against oppression of every sort. The people of this area fought decadent Mughal officials, Marathas, Afghans, Sikhs and the British as well as petty local oppressors.

Pakistan has inherited a people who seem to have an infinite capacity for struggle and sacrifice and who share a dream of self-government, democracy and a Muslim homeland.

The Meaning of Pakistan

Arguments continue to rage over the aim of the Pakistan movement. For what did the Quaid-i-Azam, the Muslim League and the Muslims of the subcontinent struggle? Each group seems convinced that its goals were the goals of the founding fathers, all the way back to Sir Sayyid and even Shah Walliullah.

This can only be true if these goals are stated in very general terms. The early leaders were seeking to reverse the moral, political

and economic decline of the Muslims of the subcontinent. From Iqbal onwards, the supporters of the Pakistan movement were struggling for the freedom to build a new nation in accordance with the ideals of Islam.

They were expressing a tremendous confidence in the Muslim religion, the vigorous, hard-working and freedom-loving people and the spacious, fertile land. It is up to the people of Pakistan to prove themselves worthy of that confidence. Pakistan is still very young, and a consensus has not yet been reached on how best to build the nation.

Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, had been the Quaid-i-Azam's right-hand since 1936. Liaquat Ali Khan was unique in combining the advantages of an aristocratic background with a commitment to the common man and an enthusiastic faith in the tenets of Islam. Liaquat Ali Khan has sometimes been called the Architect of Pakistan. In his speech introducing the Objectives Resolution, which was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 7 March 1949, Liaquat Ali Khan set forth some of his convictions:

> Islam has a distinct contribution to make. Islam envisages a society in which social justice is based upon fundamental laws and concepts which guarantee to man a life free from want and rich in freedom.

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